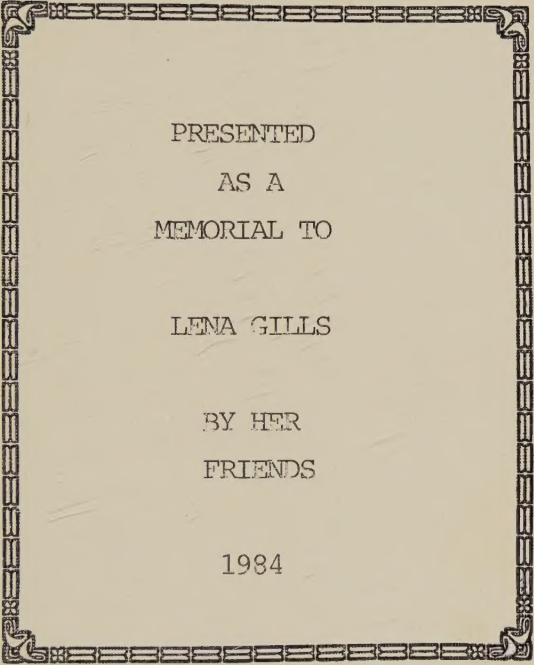




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and biographical sketches.
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PRESENTED
AS A
MEMORIAL TO

LENA GILLS

BY HER
FRIENDS

1984

HISTORY
OF THE
UPPER OHIO VALLEY

WITH FAMILY HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. A STATEMENT
OF ITS NATURAL RESOURCES, INDUSTRIAL GROWTH
AND COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES.

VOL. I.

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This is 1 of H.M. Carver's Book
is a Valuable History for the
with Seeker
H.M. Carver



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HISTORY OF THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY.

JUDGE G. L. CRANMER, Wheeling, W. Va.

CHAPTER I.

THE OHIO VALLEY — CLAIMS OF FRANCE, ENGLAND AND SPAIN —
M. DE CELERON'S MISSION — BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT — PONTIAC —
FORT PITT — THE CONGRESS AT FORT STANWIX — THE SIX NA-
TIONS.



WHEN we consider its fertile domain — its extended area — its vast resources, and its great natural advantages, exceptional as it is in all these respects, is it any wonder that the red man contested with such pertinacity the possession of the territory embraced within the limits of the Ohio Valley? It is rich in all essentials necessary for the physical welfare and happiness of a mighty population — for the temporal welfare and intellectual and mental development of a race whose Anglo-Saxon origin and character give assurance of their superiority and excellence. It is an empire, which in soil, climate and productiveness combined, is unexcelled by that of any other upon the face of the globe. Its diversified scenery presents a panorama of ever varying beauty and rare diversity, arousing admiration and awakening delight in the spectator. If fully populated and thoroughly tilled its productive capacity would supply the demands of the world. In the unwrought timber which composes her magnificent forests are embryo navies enough to cover with their white wings the surface of every ocean and sea under the white canopy of the heavens. Her hidden and undeveloped wealth of useful minerals awaits only the hand of labor and industry to reveal the rich treasures of her mines, inexhaustible in the fullness of their supply.

In the comparatively brief space of a century what changes, revolutions and progress have marked what was at its beginning the western frontier of our country! Then it was a fallow — un-

broken and untrodden wilderness — the haunt of the savage and the lair of the beast of prey. Since then science has tunneled its hills and bridged its streams and water courses — steam has traversed the pathless ocean — the remote confines of our country have been bound together with iron links, and over ringing railways the wealth of empires are moved as if by the obedient touch of a magician's wand. The results of the hidden chemistry of nature have been made subservient to the wants and necessities of man. The electric spark flashes intelligence across seas and continents, and the pulse beat of the nations is heralded from point to point with every passing hour. The art of war has been reduced by human skill and ingenuity to such scientific perfection that its multiplied means and agencies for taking human life have become the surest guarantee of peace. And all these things have transpired within the limits of 100 years.

Who can foretell the destiny or the future greatness of this wonderful valley? When the mighty pendulum of the great clock of Time in its ceaseless swing, shall have told off on its dial plate the flight of another century, judging from the past, the wildest flight of fancy in the present cannot begin to soar to the heights of that which may prove to be the actual and the real. Under the providence of God the pioneers of this valley were in no small degree the instruments of His purpose in inaugurating the building up in its limits an empire the growth and prosperity of which has been exceptional in the annals of the world.

Let us now hastily turn over the leaves of Time's volume and hurriedly scan its pages as we re-tread in a brief manner the track of history with reference to the early settlement and progress in civilization of that portion of our country styled the Ohio valley, and especially that portion of it known as the district of West Augusta, in which was originally included the western portion of the state of Pennsylvania and the present state of West Virginia; it being our purpose to give a resume only of the contentions and disputes, trials and difficulties which characterized the early history of this section immediately before and during the early years of the present century. The past is always interesting whether crowded into the limits of our own individual lives, or whether its wealth of memories laden the years and fill the period preceding that of our existence. The country bordering on the Mississippi river and its tributaries was originally claimed by England, France and Spain. The claims of England rested on the discovery by the Cabots of the eastern shores of the United States along which they sailed, which embraced the territory lying between the thirtieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, extending westwardly to the Pacific ocean. It was further based upon a tradition of an

Englishman at one time during a very early period having crossed the mountains in Virginia and proceeding westward to the Ohio river, having reached that stream had embarked on a vessel in which he descended that river and the Mississippi as far as its mouth—a fabulous feat which has nothing to recommend it to favor unless it is the ingenuity which gave it birth.

The claim of France to her American possessions was based upon the fact that in the year 1524, an Italian mariner (John Verazzani), sailing under the French flag and duly commissioned by the king of France, sailed along the Atlantic coast from the thirty-second to the fiftieth degree of latitude, landing at different points, marking the points of his visitation by signs indicating the authority of the French king. By him the country was given the name New France. A second expedition was fitted out by the French in the year 1534, under the command of one Cartier, who sailed up the St. Lawrence river and gave the first intelligent description of the country, which he declared to be French territory. In the following year (1535), Cartier returned with several vessels, and made a more extended tour of the country, and founded Montreal.

Some years elapsed before any further attempts appear to have been made by the French to extend their possessions, and it was not until the year 1608 that Champlain was sent out with another expedition, on which occasion he founded Quebec, and also discovered the beautiful lake which bears his name. After this emigrants from France began to pour into the country and to secure possession of its territory. By adapting themselves to their manners and customs, and by intermarrying with them, the French soon gained their good will, then their confidence, and finally the alliance of the natives of the country. From them they received the information that farther on there was a great river which emptied itself into a distant and unknown sea.

In 1667 Marquette and Joliet undertook, in company with a few companions, to visit this river and inspect its surroundings. Sailing along Lake Michigan by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, they reached the Mississippi, and proceeded down this river as far as the thirty-third degree of latitude north, and then returned through the Illinois country to the point of their departure in Canada.

At the time of this last-mentioned expedition M. de La Salle was the French commandant at Frontenac, a fort which occupied the present site of Kingston. Inspired by the highly-colored report of Marquette, his enthusiastic nature led him courageously to resolve to investigate the newly-discovered country for himself. Hence, in the summer of 1679, in company with a priest named Hennepin, and others, he started on his expedition. He disembarked on the present site of Chicago and

descended the Illinois river to the present site of Peoria. In the vicinity of this last named place he remained during the winter. In the meantime Father Hennepin was sent to explore the country to the north and west. In the spring La Salle returned to Canada, but subsequently re-visited the country, and in the year 1682 sailed down the Mississippi to the gulf and named the country Louisiana in honor of his sovereign, Louis XIV. On his return he established the villages of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, and then again returned to Canada. His ardent love for adventure and his keen enjoyment in discovery and exploration, led him to proceed to France with a view by personal solicitation to interest the authorities in effecting a settlement of the valley of the Mississippi, in which he was partially successful. At the same time he urged the importance of uniting the settlements on the Mississippi with those of Canada by means of a cordon of posts—the attempt to accomplish which was subsequently foiled. With the aid afforded him by the French crown he succeeded in raising an expedition, and sailed in the year 1684 for the mouth of the Mississippi, which he missed, as he landed too far to the westward. In his efforts to secure the safety of his little colony and to conduct them to the Illinois he met with innumerable trials and almost insurmountable obstacles and hardships, but to which he never for a moment succumbed. It was while thus laboriously striving for the welfare and prosperity of his company that one of his members basely assassinated him. A portion of his party subsequently reached a settlement of French emigrants located on the Arkansas. Those who had been left at St. Bernard, with the exception of a few, were murdered by the Indians, while those who escaped the Indians were afterward carried away by the Spaniards.

If priority of discovery was the real test by which the question as to which of the three great European powers held the right to the valley of the Mississippi, then Spain's was equal to either of the others. Probably Ferdinand de Soto, who at the time was governor of the Island of Cuba, was the first white man to see the mouth of the Mississippi. Prior to this time, the Spaniards had visited and named Florida and had made attempts to colonize and settle it, but these had proved abortive. This attempt was renewed by De Soto. He succeeded in penetrating the interior of the country, and had crossed the Mississippi in pushing further on, and had reached Red river when sickness arrested and finally death put an end to the plans he had purposed and the ends which he sought to accomplish. His body was committed to the waters of the last named stream so that it might escape the mutilation and indignities which otherwise might have been visited upon it by the savages, to whom his name was a terror and who regarded him as their most implacable foe. Thus the different

portions of the continent were claimed by the three great powers of Europe already named by us, basing their claims respectively on discovery, settlement and exploration. The Ohio river formed a natural communication between the French possessions in Canada and the Louisiana country, via Lake Erie. To discover and preserve this communication was to the interests of the French, and hence they were the first to trace out the whole course of this river. As late as the year 1749 the Ohio valley had never been frequented by any but the French. Up to this period the Appalachian chain of mountains had always been looked upon as the western boundary of the English colonies. The English ministry, jealous of the growing influence and trade of France, had for some time coveted the possession of the above communication mentioned.

In the year 1749, certain English traders inaugurated a contraband trade on the Ohio, and in the territory over which the French claimed to exercise jurisdiction, and surreptitiously endeavored to provoke the Indians to a war with the French. Upon information of the existing state of affairs the French commandant, Count de la Galissoniere deputed M. de Celeron, a young and intrepid French officer, to proceed thither, giving him strict instructions to use no violence against the English intruders, but simply to order them to withdraw, and in case of their refusal so to do, to seize and confiscate their goods. Upon communicating his instructions to the traders they promptly withdrew. At the same time they were charged not to return. It appeared that some of these traders were acting under commissions from the governor of Pennsylvania, which they produced for the inspection of the French officer, which confirmed the fact that the English harbored intentions detrimental to the interests of the French. Accordingly the French officer gave them a letter to the governor which he requested them to present to that dignitary. This letter was couched in courteous terms and informed the governor as to what had transpired, and respectfully requested him not to grant any more commissions in the future, but also to compel a cessation of the contraband trade which was carried on by his countrymen in the territory of New France. But no sooner had M. de Celeron completed his mission and was on his return journey after burying leaden plates and erecting wooden crosses at the mouths of the principal streams emptying into the Ohio, thus signifying the jurisdiction of the French crown over the Ohio and the adjacent territory, than the English traders returned in great numbers. Under one pretext or another, and by dint of false representations, several of the Indian tribes, at the instance of the English, were induced to take up arms against the French, having been supplied with these, together with ammunition, by the English. Hence, in the

following year, 1750, the Marquis de la Jonquiere, who in the fall of 1749 had succeeded the Count de la Galissoniere as governor general and commandant of New France, again sent out another and different force with a repetition of the same orders previously given to M. de Celeron, deprecating the use of any violence toward the English and to intimidate such of the Indian tribes as had revolted. Their forbearance toward the English was in the highest degree commendable, but was not properly appreciated. To prevent, if possible, the continuance of contraband trade, four of the most objectionable and obstinate of the traders were seized, and notwithstanding the kind and forbearing treatment of the French, they disregarded in a defiant manner the warning they had received. These four were carried to Canada. Upon personally investigating their cases, they acknowledged to the Marquis de la Jonquiere, that the governor of Pennsylvania had sent arms and ammunition, as well as presents to the Indians to excite them to war. Thereupon the marquis sent them as prisoners to France where they were retained as prisoners for some time. After an interval of time they applied to the English ambassador at the court of France, and solicited his intercession in their behalf that they might be released, but made no complaint of the justice of their arrest and imprisonment. As a personal favor to the English ambassador, his request was granted and they were discharged.

The forbearance of the French toward the Indians on the Ohio instead of having the effect of pacifying them seemed only to embolden them. Apprehensions of a united and general revolt became prevalent. The English encouraged them in their purpose and made promises of aid and protection. Detachments of French troops sent out in 1751 did no more than the detachments which had been previously sent out. But they discovered and reported the fact that preparations for a concerted attack on the part of the Indians against the colonies was imminent. The governor of Canada, convinced of the threatened danger, made preparations to send a superior force to keep them in check, but before completing them he sickened and died. He was succeeded by the Marquis du Quesne. The condition of affairs in the colony prompted him to take immediate steps to carry out the execution of the designs of his predecessor. The forces raised were placed under the command of M. de St. Pierre. Establishing a block house in the vicinity of Lake Erie, he remained there during the winter of 1753-4. During the time he was here he received a letter from the governor of Virginia commanding him to withdraw his forces. The English had already passed their boundary, and with army had entered the territory of New France. In the spring of the year 1754 M. de Contrecoeur in command of between 500 and 600 red men advanced toward the

Ohio, and between the Ohio and French creek found a small force under the command of Capt. Trent, entrenched in a small fort which they had built. Contrecoeur summoned them to depart out of the territory of New France. They at once obeyed and evacuated their fort. At the same time they requested the French commander to give them provisions, of which they stood greatly in need. He granted them a full supply and destroyed their fort. At the time of this occurrence Capt. Contrecoeur continued his march to the Ohio. In the spring of 1754 the Virginians had commenced the erection of a fort at the junction of Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, which was in an unfinished condition. In obedience to the summons to surrender, Ensign Ward, who was in command, and whose force consisted of about forty men, evacuated the fort, as his force, compared to that of his antagonist, was but a handful, the French numbering nearly 1,000, composed of French and Indians. The French at once proceeded to complete and fortify the post, which they called Fort Du Quesne, after the then French governor of Canada.

The full details of the surrender having been laid before Gov. Dinwiddie, the governor of Virginia, he proceeded to take prompt measures to repel the French. A regiment was raised, and the command given to Col. Fry, with George Washington as lieutenant colonel, and marching to a place called the Great Meadows, near the Youghioghenny river, they surprised a party of French and Indians and Jumonville, the commanding officer, was killed. In the meantime, while on the march, Fry had died, and the command of the regiment devolved upon Washington. Pressing forward, they had reached a small fort called Fort Necessity, where he was awaiting the arrival of additional troops preparatory to continuing their march to Fort Du Quesne, which they intended to attack and capture if possible. While delaying here a French force under the command of M. de Villiers appeared, and was fired upon by a portion of the force which was without the fort, when they hastily retreated to the shelter of the fort. The firing was kept up for some time, and was quite rapid, but Washington finding that it was useless to prolong the siege, and to avoid an assault which would have proved successful, accepted the proposal of the French to surrender, and the capitulation was agreed upon.

These events are considered as the first overt acts which precipitated what is known as the French and Indian war, which covered the period between 1754 and 1758. Great Britain now determined to put a stop to what they considered the encroachments and aggressions of the French in their possessions, and accordingly at the beginning of the year 1755, the French held complete control of the Ohio valley. The contest for its possession was not to be long delayed, for soon an army would pene-

trate the wilderness under the command of one of the bravest, most thoroughly disciplined and determined officers in the British service. But he was haughty, obstinate, presumptuous and difficult of access. Such is the character of Major General Edward Braddock, as portrayed by his contemporaries, who had been appointed as the leader of the forces, numbering about 2,300 men. Gen. Braddock never for a moment contemplated defeat in his projects, as both he and the commander of the fleet were much exercised as to the treatment they would extend to the French, who they had not the least doubt that they would capture. The idea that these latter could cope successfully with his well disciplined English troops was to him in the highest degree regarded as preposterous. And yet but a few days were to elapse when the self-confident general himself would surrender to insatiate Death. The flower of his army, like their general, would succumb to the same inevitable conqueror, and defeat be inscribed upon their banner.

It is not our purpose to give a detailed account of this unfortunate affair so familiar to all readers of history, but suffice it to say that had it not been for the coolness and courage displayed by Washington on this occasion, the whole army would have been cut off and destroyed. From this time until the year 1764, the Indians, under Pontiac, carried on a ruthless and devastating warfare. The distress which prevailed on the frontiers was unparalleled before or since. The defeat of Braddock had caused the settlers to abandon their cabins and flee for safety to the older settled portions of the country, and in the whole valley of the Ohio scarcely a single white person was to be found. Outside of this limit the Indians emboldened by the terrible rout of Braddock's forces, indulged the terrible ferocity of their natures wherever victims could be found on whom to expend their fury. Families who had neglected by flight to procure their security were inhumanly butchered in cold blood, and in their wild carnival of slaughter they spared neither sex nor age. They laid siege successfully to a number of forts, which were reduced by force or stratagem. They passed beyond the mountains and carried devastation and death as far as Bedford, Winchester and Fort Cumberland. But this condition of affairs was finally arrested by the decisive victory won by the skill and prowess of Col. Bouquet, at Brushy Run, in Westmoreland county, Penn., August, 1763, which struck such terror to the savages as to cause them temporarily to withdraw into the interior. From this time the prestige of the great chief Pontiac was eclipsed; his followers became disheartened and sued for peace.

The reader will please pardon us if we occupy a small portion of his time in briefly referring to the career and character of the chieftain we have just named. Pontiac was an Ottawa chief

whom the English first became acquainted with when a small force of their army was for the first time sent to take formal possession of the country in the vicinity of the upper lakes. On being informed of the approach of the English he collected his warriors together and set out to meet them. He indignantly demanded of them why they dared to trespass upon his territory, and haughtily insisted on being informed as to what their business was there. He was answered that they came on a friendly errand to assure peace with his nation, and to cultivate acquaintance. Pontiac replied: "I take my stand in the path you are following and here I will remain until morning," giving them to understand that they could not proceed further without his full permission. After a time and after due deliberation he permitted them to proceed, and with his followers accompanied them to Detroit, from whence he sent runners to the surrounding tribes urging them, as he had, to become friendly toward the English. For some time he was true to the whites and was their faithful friend, but afterward became their inveterate enemy. Drake, in his history of the Indians, speaks of his great executive ability as exceeding even that of Metacomet or Tecumseh. He proceeds to say: "In his war of 1763, which is justly denominated *Pontiac's war*, he appointed a commissary, and began to make and issue bills of credit, all of which he afterward carefully redeemed. He made his bills on notes of bark, on which was drawn the figure of the commodity he wanted, and another was the insignia or arms of his nation. He had also with great sagacity, urged upon his people the necessity of dispensing altogether with European commodities, to have no intercourse with any whites, and to depend entirely upon their ancient modes of procuring sustenance." After the reduction of Canada, comparative peace reigned along the frontiers. The French being driven out of the country, the English commenced the erection of forts at the most available points commanding the lakes and rivers. Rightly apprehending that the English, if not checked, or if an attempt to do so was not promptly made, would soon spread themselves over the whole country, the savages realized that a mighty effort must be made to prevent their advance. A confederacy was therefore formed among the Shawnees, the tribes in the Ohio and its adjacent waters, the object of which was to attack at the same time all of the English posts and settlements on the frontiers. Their plan was skillfully formed after the most mature deliberation.

The Ohio valley, as well as the frontiers of Pennsylvania, were raided by scalping parties carrying death and devastation wherever they penetrated. The remote outposts were assailed, and out of eleven forts three only escaped capture—Detroit, Niagara and Fort Pitt alone remaining in the hands of the whites.

The moving spirit in this rising was Pontiac, and he commanded in person the united forces which attempted the capture of Detroit through stratagem. The success with which the savages met emboldened them to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, while it struck terror to the hearts of the settlers by reason of the barbarity practiced by the savages. The English commandant determined to take the most active measures to arrest this tide of blood and desolation. Accordingly he dispatched Col. Henry Bouquet, a soldier who had seen much service, both in Europe and this country, during the French war. At the time he was stationed at Philadelphia, from which place he marched with a force of about 500 men, and as already stated, after a fierce and hotly contested fight at Brushy Run, he pushed on with his force to the Ohio valley, and in due time arrived at Fort Pitt. Here he was reinforced, and now with a force of 1,500 men he took up his line of march on the third day of October, against the Indian towns on the Muskingum, which he reached near the forks of that river without opposition, and there dictated terms of peace to them.

Hutchins, in his *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition*, says: "Immediately after the peace was concluded with the Indians, the king made him brigadier general and commandant of the troops in all of the southern colonies of British America. He died in Pensacola in 1767, lamented by his friends, and regretted universally."

Having somewhat anticipated our narrative, we propose to return and take up the thread of it so far as it is connected with the evacuation of Fort Du Quesne by the French and the erection of Fort Pitt. In November, 1758, the French, learning of the approach of a formidable army under Gen. Forbes, became alarmed, and as they had been deserted by most of their allies, they determined to abandon their fort. Before doing so, however, they placed the torch to all their buildings and a slow match to their magazine, whereupon the whole party took to boats and descended the Ohio. On the 25th of November, 1758, the English took possession of the blackened and defaced ruins of the fortress. With the fall of this post the struggle began between the French and English for the possession of the Ohio valley. The war between these two powers was concluded by the treaty of Fontainebleau, in November, 1762. The banner of St. George now floated over what had hitherto been called Fort Du Quesne, but which the unanimous voice of those present named Fort Pitt, in honor of the able and eloquent premier of England, William Pitt. Bancroft, in giving an account of this capture, uses the following language: "Long as the Monangahela and Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valleys which their

waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed upon the gateway of the west."

Comparative quiet prevailed along the borders for some years after the treaty to which we have referred was entered into between Col. Bouquet and the Indians. A fixed and determinate boundary line was now desired, both by the English and the Indians.

In the beginning of the year 1766, a proposition was made by Gov. Franklin, of New Jersey, to the superintendent of Indian affairs, Sir William Johnson, that they should purchase a large body of lands situated south of the Ohio river, with the intention of filling them with English settlers. In this enterprise it was stipulated that Gov. Moore, Gen. Gage, Gov. Franklin and Sir William Johnston, were to be joint and equal partners. The Five Nations, subsequently styled the Six Nations, after the admission of the Tuscarawas into their confederacy, claimed all this territory by right of conquest. The proposition having been approved by those interested, Gov. Franklin at once communicated with his father, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who was then in London, to secure his influence and efforts in behalf of the contemplated enterprise, at the same time requesting him to obtain a grant from the government. But the crown had made a previous grant of the same territory to the Ohio company and, moreover, they appear to have had some misgivings for a season as to the propriety of establishing a colony so far inland. But their scruples were finally overcome and the company was formed under the name of the "Walpole Company," into which the Ohio company was merged about the year 1770, to which the royal sanction was given in the year 1772. The outbreak of the revolution destroyed both of these grants.

In the year 1768, under the authority of the British cabinet, a congress was appointed to meet at Fort Stanwix, to be composed of the governors of the several colonies and the Indians composing the Six Nations. In the latter part of September, of this last named year, twenty batteaus arrived at the fort laden with presents for the Indians, and were accompanied by Gov. Franklin, of New Jersey, George Croghan and others. The day following, Gov. Penn and the commissioners of Pennsylvania arrived, the commissioners of Virginia already being on the spot. The Indian traders were also represented at this congress. These traders, during the war known as Pontiac's, had been robbed of their goods, and these representatives possessed a power of attorney authorizing them to seize upon and appropriate lands under a clause contained in the treaty of 1765.

It was the beginning of October before any great number of Indians assembled, and the delay was causing a scarcity of provisions. Hence messengers were dispatched to hasten the gath-

ering of the Indians. It was not until the latter part of the month that the congress was formally opened. A still further delay was occasioned of several days, owing to the indulgence of the Indians in a pow-wow or talk, so that it was not until the first days of November before they were ready to report a boundary line. This line began at the mouth of the Tennessee river, and followed the Ohio and Allegheny to Kittanning, thence it continued in a direct line to the nearest bank of the west branch of the Susquehanna river, and followed that stream through the Alleghenys, passing by way of Burnett's hills in the eastern branch of the Susquehanna and Delaware, into New York, with its northern terminus at the confluence of the Canada and Woods rivers.

As the Six Nations claimed the title to the territory south of the Ohio river by right of conquest, they were emphatic in their refusal to recognize any boundary whatever, unless their claim was acknowledged. Besides the deed to the territory indicated they gave three other deeds at the same time—one to William Trent, representing the Indian traders as before mentioned, for an indemnity lying between the Kanawha and Monongahela rivers, embracing the greater portion of the present state of West Virginia, another to the proprietors of Pennsylvania, for the Wyoming tract of land, and a third to George Croghan for previous grants, and about 1,300 acres of land on the Allegheny river. It is on this treaty rests the title by purchase to Kentucky, Western Virginia and Pennsylvania. Permit us here in passing to refer briefly to that wonderful organization known in history as the Confederacy of the Six Nations, an organization which cannot fail to challenge the admiration and scrutiny of the antiquarian and student as being one of the most unique and remarkable established by an Indian race in North America, if we except the ancient Aztec dynasty. The original tribes composing this confederacy were the Mohawks, the Onondagas, the Senecas, the Oneidas and Cayugas, and some time subsequent to the formation of the confederacy a sixth tribe was admitted, the Tuscarawas. The last, however, were not admitted to membership on an equal footing with the others, but occupied a subordinate position. The Six Nations extended the exercise of their authority and jurisdiction over a large portion of the territory of our country, embracing under their legislative control what are now the states of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, a portion of Michigan, and a portion of the Canadas. Their dignity and importance was in the order in which we have named the tribes which composed their Nation. Like the tribe of Judah which always occupied the fore front of the Lord's hosts, the Mohawks occupied the first and most prominent place in the council and the field.

At the time of the Saxon occupation of the great Ohio valley, the Six Nations dominated all the other tribes, none dared to withstand them in battle, or if they did, proved unsuccessful in coping with them, much less were they successful in opposing them in the execution of their plans and purposes. Tradition, itself now almost lost in the mists of obscurity, tells of a tribe of superior intelligence, but few in numbers, which was located in a portion of what is now Marshall county, in the state of West Virginia, which by some unfortunate circumstance called down upon their devoted heads the ire of these powerful nations, who in the madness of their rage exterminated the last soul of them, razed their village and destroyed every last vestige of them as a tribe so completely that even their name has been obliterated from the memory of mankind. Simultaneously, while one of the tribes of the Nation would attack the red men of New England, another would attack their brothers dwelling on the banks of the Tennessee, while another would carry death to the savages dwelling on the shores of the Mississippi. They were swift in execution, indomitable in energy and unyielding in fortitude. They claimed lordship over a territory extending from the Canadas to the distant Mississippi, and from the Appalachian chain of mountains to an indefinite line westward. But with the advent of the Saxon race their power gradually diminished, their prestige waned and their glory departed, and to-day the vanished remnants of their race have left behind them only a fast fading memory, which in the whirlpool and excitement of a utilitarian age, we fear, will be wholly submerged, or if it survives at all, will live only in the character of a myth.

The country immediately bordering on the waters of the upper Ohio was not inhabited by the Indians unless at some exceptional points, and these very few in number; but their tribal towns and villages were for the greater part at a remove of some distance west of that river. As, for instance, the Shawnees dwelt in the territory embraced in the central portion of the present state of Ohio, extending westward into the present state of Indiana. The Delawares lived adjacent to these on the Muskingum and the Cuyahoga, and the two tribes not infrequently united their forces and co-operated together both in war and council. The Ottawas inhabited the country lying to the northwest in the vicinity of the chain of the great lakes. There were a number of other tribes, not quite so prominent as the foregoing, such as the Chippewas, Wyandots, Pottawatomies and Miamis and in the same district of country, others of still less note, all of whom contributed more or less to the disturbance and annoyance of the first settlers on the Ohio and its tributary streams. The Six Nations were located in the northeast along the shores of the Hudson and St. Lawrence rivers. That por-

tion of western Virginia known as the Panhandle was never the abode of the Indians. In their raids to the Monongahela and Cheat rivers to the eastward their trail was through this portion of the present state of West Virginia. Moreover, West Virginia was their hunting ground — a favorite resort where the choicest game was found in abundance — the elk, deer, bear, wild turkey and smaller specimens.

It is no wonder that they looked with a jealous eye upon the encroachments of the whites upon this portion of their domain and that they resented it by attempting to drive the aggressors away. Nor was the emigration which in 1769-70 began to set in, calculated to lessen their apprehensions, as it had now spread to the banks of the Ohio river. Hence, a feeling of restlessness and feverish uneasiness began to be manifested which increased in intensity during the succeeding years, and finally having gathered head it burst forth in its fiercest fury, carrying with it death, destruction and desolation.



CHAPTER II.

THE ALARM ON THE BORDERS—THE KILLING OF TWO INDIANS BY THE WHITES—ATTACK UPON THE INDIANS AT CAPTINA—THE AFFAIR AT YELLOW CREEK—LOGAN ON THE WAR-PATH—LETTER OF EBENEZER ZANE—EXPEDITION COMMANDED BY COL. ANGUS McDONALD—DUNMORE'S CAMPAIGN—DUNMORE ENTERS INTO A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.



DURING the early part of the year 1774 the tranquility which had prevailed along the borders in the interval between this year and the year 1764, by virtue of the treaty entered into between the Shawnees and the Delawares and Col. Bouquet was now interrupted. Prior to the year 1774 numbers of persons were induced to settle and seek homes in these western wilds upon and contiguous to the waters of the Ohio, where lands were cheap and easily acquired, many of which latter were held by no other title than that of a "tomahawk right." The peace and quiet which prevailed during the period mentioned had encouraged a great number of land jobbers in addition to the permanent inhabitants to flock into the new settlements, who took up large quantities of land amounting in the aggregate to many thousands of acres. The movements of these land jobbers in taking up and appropriating such large quantities of the best lands aroused in the settlers a desire to go and do likewise, and the spirit of land speculation speedily became rife among them. This aroused the jealousy of the neighboring tribes which was intensified by the settlement and appropriation of land by the whites on the Virginia side of the river below the mouth of the Scioto which the Shawnees claimed as belonging to the Indians, the title to which, as they insisted, had never been parted with by them.

In the early spring of this year Col. Ebenezer Zane in company with others had left Wheeling and descended the river to the mouth of Sandy for the purpose of selecting and taking up land. It was while thus engaged that they received information that hostile acts were being committed against the settlers by the Indians in the way of thieving, plundering and robbing, and that the lives of jobbers and settlers alike were in imminent peril, and advising them to return at once, This induced the immediate return of Col. Zane and his party as well as others ab-

sent on the same errand. Upon their arrival at Wheeling they were regaled with exaggerated stories concerning the hostile attitude of the Indians, expressing their fears that they would soon gather in force and fall upon and slaughter them.

In the excitement which prevailed conflicting views were entertained and urged. Some proposed to anticipate them in their movements and at once inaugurate measures to surprise and attack them, thinking it probable that such prompt action upon the part of the whites would strike terror to their foes and paralyze their efforts. But others again, and Col. Zane among them, counselled moderation and prudence, and wisely sought to restrain the more precipitate. In the midst of the agitation which prevailed it was reported that a canoe containing two Indians was on the river a short distance above the settlement, and was approaching. This information served to inflame the indignant passions of the settlers, or at least that portion of them who harbored in their breasts resentment and revenge, and it was proposed to intercept them. Col. Zane, the proprietor of the settlement, strenuously objected to any overt act of hostility on the part of the whites, giving as a reason that the killing of these Indians would result in a general war, and that in itself it would be an atrocious act and nothing less than criminal murder, which would forever disgrace the names and memories of the perpetrators. But these humane and peaceful counsels were unheeded. His advice, counsel and arguments all proved to be in vain. In opposition to all efforts put forth to restrain them, a party set out, whose thirst for blood could only be quenched by the slaughter of their intended victims. Upon their return within a few hours subsequent to their departure, upon inquiry made of them as to what had become of the Indians, at first their replies were evasive and unsatisfactory. They finally stated that the Indians had "fallen overboard." Their cool indifference, and especially the significance of their statement that the warriors had *fallen overboard*, produced the conviction in the minds of their hearers that the warriors had been wantonly murdered, and this conviction was fully confirmed when the canoe was afterward found which was splashed with blood and pierced with numerous bullets. The result was as predicted—the tribes at once entered upon the war-path to avenge this as well as other acts of wanton provocation. The wise and discreet among the settlers condemned the act at the time in unmeasured terms and characterized it very properly as a wanton outrage and a gross and unjustifiable deed.

No doubt these manifestations of disapproval upon the part of their acquaintances and neighbors instead of mollifying the tempers and dispositions of those who had been engaged in this affair, served only to exasperate them; for either on the evening

of the same day or the day following (it is not clear which), the same party received intelligence that some warriors were encamped at the mouth of Captina creek, on the Ohio side of the river, about sixteen miles below Wheeling, upon whom an attack was made which resulted in the killing of one or two of the Indians. In this affair one of the whites was severely wounded, but was safely brought away by his comrades. Much confusion prevails as to the precise dates on which these occurrences transpired, some historians fixing the time in the latter part of April, and others again in the latter part of May; but the weight of evidence seems to preponderate in favor of the latter part of April. However, this does not affect the reality of the events, and is more a matter of idle curiosity than substance, as there is nothing in regard to which the human memory is more treacherous than the correctness of dates.

About the time of the happening of this affair at Captina, occurred the massacre (for by that name only can it be justly described), at the mouth of Yellow creek, a stream emptying into the Ohio river on the Ohio side about forty-two miles above Wheeling. A nervous feeling of dread existed among the settlers along the whole line of the frontier of that subtle and indefinable character which though *felt* cannot be fully explained. Their apprehensions led them to realize that they were standing on the verge of a crater which was liable, without a moment's notice, to burst forth in volcanic eruption. Such appears to have been the state of public feeling when the murderous assault and consequent destruction of life took place at Yellow creek, which was not only one of the most inexcusable, but one of the most unjustifiable acts ever perpetrated by the whites upon a deceived and unsuspecting foe, and for which they eventually suffered the direst vengeance.

It appears that in the latter part of April, 1774, a large body of Indians were encamped just above the mouth of Yellow creek, on both sides of that stream. A person by the name of Daniel Baker, who had been in the habit of selling "fire-water" to the Indians, resided on the Virginia side of the river. Upon the pretext of protecting Baker and his family, one Daniel Greathouse, in command of a force of some thirty men, went to his relief. It is said that upon arriving in the vicinity of Baker's house he placed his men in ambush and crossing the river, under pretense of making a friendly visit, entered the Indian encampment with a view really to ascertain their strength and position, intending, if his force was sufficient for the purpose, to cross to their side and attack them. The Indians, deceived by his apparent frankness and friendship, and not for a moment suspecting his motives, welcomed him into their midst and received him in the same spirit in which he professed to be influenced. He spent

some time with them, mingling freely among them, but at the same time taking note of their numbers, position, etc. Having effected his purpose he re-crossed the river and returned to his command, and reported that their strength and the weakness of his command precluded the idea of openly attacking them, and he therefore proposed to effect by stratagem what he could not otherwise accomplish. It was therefore arranged between Baker and himself, that the former should furnish free to such Indians as might cross the river as much "fire water" as they could drink, and thereby get as many of them drunk as he possibly could. In this proposition it is said that Baker acquiesced, and it was not long before he had the opportunity of carrying out his undertaking, as several Indians came over and were supplied with drink to such an extent that they became hopelessly intoxicated, except one—Logan's brother—but he, with the others, was shot down like so many brutes. It is, however, a redeeming trait in the characters of a large majority of those who were members of this expedition that they refused to sanction or take part in the accomplishment of the base artifice which had been practiced by their commander. Not more than eight or ten out of the entire number were actors in the foul conspiracy, and the remainder stoutly protested against it, but in vain. The firing having attracted the attention of the Indians in camp, they sent over two of their number in a canoe to ascertain and report the cause of the alarm, but these last had no sooner landed than they were ruthlessly and mercilessly shot down. Thereupon, another and larger canoe was promptly manned, filled with armed Indians who ventured out and essayed in vain to reach the shore, being prevented from so doing by a well directed fire which proved to be so deadly and effective as to greatly cripple them and compel their return. Shots were then exchanged between the parties across the river, but these did but little if any execution, the distance being too great to prove disastrous to either. Among the killed, however, were the brother and sister of Logan, the famous Mingo chief, who, with himself, were the only remaining members of his family.

Prior to this time Logan had been the firm friend and unflinching ally of the whites and the advocate of peace, on many occasions efficiently using his efforts to promote harmony and good feeling, but this disastrous event aroused all the frenzy of the savage in his nature, and the implacable hatred toward the whites thereafter became as bitter, as before his devotion to them had been unswerving. A brief quiet followed, but it was the calm which preceded the approaching storm when it gathers its forces for its fierce outburst. In the meantime measures were taken to arouse all the tribes by sounding among them the tocsin of war.

In July, 1774, Logan, at the head of a small party of eight warriors, made his presence felt where it was least expected, by striking a blow against some inhabitants on the Monongahela. It was presumed by every one, that in case of war, the settlements on the Ohio would be the first to be attacked. Taking advantage of this belief, was the reason for his successes. Drake, in his *Indian Biography*, Book V., p. 41, says: "Logan's first attack was upon three men who were pulling flax in a field. One was shot down and the two others taken. These were marched into the wilderness, and as they approached the Indian town, Logan gave the scalp halloo, and they were met by the inhabitants who conducted them in. Running the gauntlet was next to be performed. Logan took no delight in tortures, and he in the most friendly manner instructed one of the captives how to proceed to escape the severities of the gauntlet. This same captive, whose name was Robinson, was afterward sentenced to be burned; but Logan, though not able to rescue him by his eloquence, with his own hand cut the cords that bound him to the stake, and caused him to be adopted into an Indian family. He became afterward Logan's scribe."

As confirmatory of the facts which led to the war, known as Dunmore's war, we submit the following extract from a letter from Colonel Ebenezer Zane to Hon. John Brown, one of the senators in congress from Kentucky, dated "Wheeling, February 4, 1800."

"I was myself, with many others, in the practice of making improvements on lands upon the Ohio, for the purpose of acquiring rights to the same. Being on the Ohio, at the mouth of Sandy creek, in company with many others, news circulated that the Indians had robbed some of the land-jobbers. This news induced the people generally to ascend the Ohio. I was among the number. On our arrival at Wheeling, being informed that there were two Indians with some traders near and above Wheeling, a proposition was made by the then Captain Michael Cresap, to waylay and kill the Indians upon the river. This measure I opposed with much violence, alleging that the killing of those Indians might involve the country in a war. But the opposite party prevailed, and proceeded up the Ohio with Captain Cresap at their head. In a short time the party returned, and also the traders in a canoe; but there were no Indians in the company. I enquired what had become of the Indians, and was informed by the traders and Cresap's party that they had fallen overboard. I examined the canoe and saw much fresh blood and some bullet-holes in the canoe. This finally convinced me that the party had killed the two Indians, and thrown them into the river.

"On the afternoon of the day this action happened a report prevailed that there was a camp or party of Indians on the Ohio

below and near Wheeling. In consequence of this information Captain Cresap, with his party, joined by a number of recruits, proceeded immediately down the Ohio for the purpose, as was then generally understood, of destroying the Indians above mentioned. On the succeeding day Captain Cresap and his party returned to Wheeling, and it was generally reported by the party that they had killed a number of Indians. Of the truth of this report I had no doubt, as one of Cresap's party was badly wounded, and the party had a fresh scalp, and a quantity of property which they called Indian plunder. At the time of the last mentioned transaction, it was generally reported that the party of Indians down the Ohio were Logan and his family; but I have reason to believe that this report was unfounded.

"Within a few days after the transaction above mentioned, a party of Indians were killed at Yellow creek. But I must do the memory of Captain Cresap the justice to say that I do not believe that he was present at the killing of the Indians at Yellow creek. But there is not the least doubt in my mind that the massacre at Yellow creek was brought on by the two transactions first stated.

"All the transactions which I have related happened in the latter end of April, 1774; and there can scarcely be a doubt that they were the cause of the war which immediately followed, commonly called Dunmore's war.

"I am with much esteem, yours, etc.,

"EBENEZER ZANE."

Prior to the successful attacks made by Logan on the settlements on the Monongahela it had been ordered by the authorities of Virginia, that a force should be raised in the district of West Augusta for the purpose of making an inroad into the Indian country and attacking their towns with a view of calling off the straggling bands of predatory Indians which greatly infested the neighborhoods of the frontier settlements, in which forts were erected by the settlers for their protection. It was in this year that the fort at Wheeling was erected. At the same time many private ones were erected, among which may be mentioned Tomlinson's, at Grave creek, Shepard's and Bonnet's, near Wheeling, Van Atetre's on Short creek, the court house fort at West Liberty, Wolff's on the waters of Buffalo, Jackson's on Ten-mile with other stockades and defenses too numerous to mention.

Owing to the threatening state of affairs, expresses were sent to Williamsburg, the then seat of government of Virginia, informing the authorities of the commencement of hostilities, and thereupon a plan was adopted for the purpose of taking active measures against the Indians. Withers, in his account of the expedition raised at this time, says: "Early in June the troops, destined to make an incursion into the Indian country, assembled

at Wheeling, and being placed under the command of Col. Angus McDonald, descended the Ohio to the mouth of Captina, debarking at this place from their boats and canoes they took up their march to Wappatomica, an Indian town on the Muskingum. The country through which the army had to pass was one unbroken forest presenting many obstacles to its speedy advance, not the least of which was the difficulty of proceeding directly to the point proposed. To obviate this, however, they were accompanied by three persons in the capacity of guides;* whose knowledge of the woods, and familiarity with those natural indices, which so unerringly mark the direction of the principal points, enabled them to pursue the direct course. When they had approached within six miles of the town, the army encountered an opposition from a party of fifty or sixty Indians lying in ambush and before these could be dislodged, two whites were killed and eight or ten wounded—one Indian was killed and several wounded. They then proceeded to Wappatomica without further molestation.

"When the army arrived at the town, it was found to be entirely deserted. Supposing that it would cross the river, the Indians had retreated to the opposite bank, and concealing themselves behind trees and fallen timber, were awaiting that movement in joyful anticipation of a successful surprise. Their own anxiety and the prudence of the commanding officer, however, frustrated that expectation. Several were discovered peeping from their covert, watching the motion of the army; and Col. McDonald, suspecting their object, and apprehensive that they would re-cross the river and attack him in the rear, stationed videttes above and below, to detect any such purpose, and to apprise him of the first movement toward effecting it. Foiled by these prudent and precautionary measures, and seeing their town in possession of the enemy, with no prospect of wresting it from them until destruction would have done its work, the Indians sued for peace; and the commander of the expedition consenting to negotiate with them, if he could be assured of their sincerity, five chiefs were sent over as hostages, and the army then crossed the river, with these in front. When a negotiation was begun, the Indians asked that one of the hostages might go and convoke the other chiefs, whose presence, it was alleged, would be necessary to the ratification of a peace. One was accordingly released; and not returning at the time specified, another was then sent, who, in like manner, failed to return. Col. McDonald suspecting some treachery, marched forward to the next town, above Wappatomica, where another slight engagement took place, in which one Indian was killed and one white man

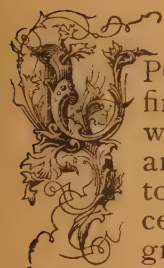
*They were Jonathan Zane, Thomas Nicholson and Tady Kelly. A better woodsman than the first named of these three, perhaps never lived.

wounded. It was then ascertained that the time which should have been spent in collecting the other chiefs, preparatory to negotiations, had been employed in removing their old men, their women and children, together with what property could be readily taken off, and for making preparations for a combined attack on the Virginia troops. To punish this duplicity and to render peace really desirable, Col. McDonald burned their towns and destroyed their crops; and being then in want of provisions, retraced his steps to Wheeling, taking with him the three remaining hostages, who were then sent on to Williamsburgh. The inconvenience of supplying provisions to an army in the wilderness, was a serious obstacle to the success of expeditions undertaken against the Indians. The want of roads at that early period, which would admit of transportation in wagons, rendered it necessary to resort to pack horses; and such was at times the difficulty of procuring these, that not unfrequently, each soldier had to be the bearer of his entire stock of subsistence for the whole campaign. When this was exhausted, a degree of suffering ensued, often attended with consequences fatal to individuals, and destructive to the objects of the expedition. In the present case the army being without provisions before they left the Indian towns, their only sustenance consisted of weeds, an ear of corn each day, and occasionally a small quantity of venison; it being impracticable to hunt game in small parties, because of the vigilance and success of the Indians in watching and cutting off detachments of this kind, before they could accomplish their purpose and regain the main army. No sooner had the troops retired from the Indian country, than the savages in small parties invaded the settlements in different directions seeking opportunities of gratifying their insatiable thirst for blood. And although the precautions which had been taken, lessened the frequency of their success, yet they did not always prevent it. Persons leaving the forts on any occasion, were almost always either murdered or carried into captivity—a lot sometimes worse than death itself."

CHAPTER III.

R. H. TANEYHILL.

LOGAN, THE MINGO CHIEFTAIN—HIS PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE—
LORD DUNMORE'S WAR—MASSACRES AT CAPTINA AND YELLOW
CREEK—LOGAN ON THE WAR PATH—HIS FAMOUS SPEECH—
LAST ACTS IN THE LIFE OF A GREAT INDIAN.



ON the opening of spring, 1774, we find the Briton firmly established to the Ohio. The red man, always weak and impotent before the power of the intruder, and having "no rights that the white man was bound to respect," had been steadily pushed back toward the center of the continent. His villages and hunting grounds, with the home of his family, kindred and people, were now west of the Ohio river. Only wretched fragments of once powerful tribes lingered in the valleys and gorges of the mountains, while here and there up against the settlements or among the settlers a solitary warrior with his family had his cabin. There, linked to the spot of his birth by the holiest affections that move the human heart, he brooded in hopelessness over his wasted heritage and vanquished tribe. Such had been the treatment of the Indian, and such was the situation of the races in the spring of 1774. That year had begun with every prospect that peace would be continued, but another act in the bloody drama of settlement had to be played. In its opening scene there appears to view one of the most remarkable men that history furnishes for the esteem and admiration of mankind—Logan, the "Mingo Chief."

An obscurity that cannot be penetrated covers his youth and early manhood. All that is known about them with certainty, is, that he was born at Shamokin on the Susquehanna in the east central part of Pennsylvania, about the year 1730; that he was the second son of Shikellemus, a Cayuga chief; that his father was greatly attached to James Logan, a Christian missionary and government agent at Shamokin, and named his second son after him.

The Cayuga tribe, of which Shikellemus was a chief, was one of the Six Nations, so famous in American annals. The "Six Nations" was composed of the following tribes: Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas and Tuscarawas. They were

in a state of confederation, and in all their movements and intercourse with the rest of mankind they acted as a unit. The Indians used the words Iroquois and Mingo to designate the Six Nations—meaning a united people. Mingo was seldom used unless persons belonging to those tribes had fixed residences on the Scioto river, it was then the name universally applied to them. It was in this way that Logan came to be called a Mingo chief.

A little before the old French and Indian war, Logan built a cabin on the Kishauquoquillas creek, a branch of the Juniata river, in what is now Mifflin county, Penn., and took up his residence there. This is the cabin in which he remained an advocate for peace during that terrific struggle between the red and white men, commencing at Fort Necessity and ending at the overthrow of Pontiac. We find him then to be swift in the chase and of powerful endurance—honest, honorable, hospitable and brave, tender of the feelings of others, loving the white people as of his own race, and determined for peace at the suffering of everything but what a good man will meet with indignation and force. It was here that the principal incidents in the life of Logan took place that have been preserved to indicate his character.

Soon after Logan had settled on the Juniata, Judge William Brown and some others came to the valley to explore the country. This Judge Brown was for some years a justice of the peace. He afterward represented the people several terms in the legislature and was for many years an associate judge for Mifflin county. He tells us that "one day while exploring he started a bear and separated to get a shot at him. I was going along looking for the bear when I came suddenly upon a large spring, and being dry, was more rejoiced to find a spring than to have shot a dozen bears. I sat my gun against a bush and went down the bank and laid down to drink. Upon putting my head down, I saw reflected in the water on the opposite side the form of a tall man. I sprang to my rifle when the Indian gave a yell, whether for peace or war, I was not just then sufficient master of my faculties to determine. On seizing my rifle and facing him, he knocked up the pan of his gun, threw out the priming, and extended his open palm toward me in token of friendship. After putting down our guns, we met at the spring and shook hands. This man was Logan, the best specimen of humanity I ever met with, either white or red."

The valley of the Juniata abounded with game and Logan supported himself by dressing skins and bartering or selling them to traders or settlers. As the settlements thickened up, tailors made their advent and drove a lively trade in buckskin breeches. One of those "knights of the needle" and Logan had quite a trouble about some wheat. The wheat Logan got from

the tailor for some skins was worthless. The miller would not grind it and the tailor would not make the matter right. So Logan went to his friend, Judge Brown, who was then a justice. He told the justice that the "stuff looked like wheat but it wasn't wheat." "Then it certainly must be cheat," said the justice. "Yes," replied Logan, "that's a very good name for it." Suit was brought and Logan was victor. The Indian has no law in his civil government to enforce the performance of contracts or a remedy for their breach. Honor, and honor only, binds him to fulfill his engagements. So when an execution was formally made out and handed to Logan to give to a constable, he was perplexed. "How will this bit of paper get my money," he asked the justice. Brown explained. Logan laughed and exclaimed "Law good; law makes rogues pay."

To Logan everything noble in human nature was concentrated in the word gentleman. See his nice sense of honor and his appreciation of a gentleman in the following incident: "Judge Brown and his friend, Samuel Maclay, one day visited Logan at his cabin. The greater part of the afternoon was spent by Logan and Maclay shooting at a mark at a dollar a shot. Logan was beaten four or five shots. When his guest was about to leave he went into his cabin and brought as many dear-skins as he had lost shots and offered them to Maclay. 'No, John,' said Maclay, 'we only shot for fun.' Logan drew himself up to his full height, and exclaimed as he struck his breast: 'Me gentleman, me bet to make you shoot your best—me take your dollar if me beat.' Maclay took the skins, and they parted in the utmost good humor."

Another incident in Logan's life occurred while he lived on the Juniata, which illustrates the nobleness of his nature very finely. Judge Brown was away from home and Logan happened to go over to his cabin. Mrs. Brown had a little daughter just beginning to walk, and she remarked in Logan's presence that she wished she had a pair of shoes for her. When he was about to leave he asked Mrs. Brown to let the little girl go and spend the day with him. It was a strange request, and coming from a savage, it was appalling to the mother. But she feared to refuse. Tediously, indeed, the hours of that day passed away, and the feelings of the mother can not be described. Many times she looked up the path to Logan's cabin to see if her little girl was coming, but no one was to be seen. Just as the sun was setting, Logan came in sight, bearing his precious charge on his shoulders. Soon the little girl trotted across the floor to its mother's arms, having on a pair of neat fitting moccasins made by Logan.

Shickellemus died just after the close of Pontiac's war and Logan succeeded him as a chief of the Cayugas. The civil polity of the Indian does not require a chief to live with his tribe,

but he may reside wherever it suits him. By so doing he forfeits none of the dignities of his station, nor does it lessen him in the respect and confidence of his people. Logan never lived with the tribe and was never married.

In 1769 Logan left his cabin on the Juniata and settled on the Allegheny. He stayed here only a short time and then moved to Mingo Bottom, a few miles below the present city of Steubenville. However, hunting camps were kept up by him at several points on the Ohio and its tributary streams. While he lived at Mingo Bottom an Indian council determined on war. Logan hearing of it, by a speech of great eloquence and wisdom, led them to bury the hatchet. The chief points of his speech were that the war would be wrong and that they now had the best hunting grounds in the world, and, if they went to war, they would lose them.

In 1772, he fixed his home on the Scioto, on the present site of the village of Westfall, Pickaway county, Ohio. That spot was his home until death, and it was there that he delivered his speech to Gen. Gibson at the close of the Dunmore war. He continued his hunting camps at the points previously used by him for that purpose, the principal one at Mingo Bottom.

In 1772 the Rev. John Heckewelder had a long conversation with Logan at his camp on Beaver river. He told that gentleman that he intended to fix his permanent home on the Ohio, and live among the white people; that whisky was his curse and that of his people, and faulted the whites for bringing it among them. He expressed great admiration for the better class of white men, but said: "Unfortunately we have only a few of them for neighbors."

Dunmore's War.—Cornstalk, the great Shawnee chief, told the exact truth when he said: "It was forced on the Indians for the whites began it, and that the red man would have deserved the contempt of mankind if he had not tried to avenge the murders of Captina and Yellow creek." But what caused those murders to be committed? What are the facts? Let us see. Dunmore, then governor of Virginia, was a warm royalist, and was fully apprised of the state of the border. He knew, moreover, that the impending struggle between the colonies and the mother country was rapidly approaching a crisis. And it is charged that he projected a plot to embitter the Indians against the whites as much as possible, and thereby to do service for his king. And all the facts seem to justify the charge. But whether he be guilty or not, it is certain that in January, 1774, he appointed one Dr. John Connolly, commandant general of West Augusta, which that part of Virginia west of the mountains and north of the Kanawha, was then called. That shortly after the doctor had assumed the duties of his office he, by agents, circulated through-

out West Augusta, hideous stories of murders, massacres, burnings and robberies committed by the Indians along the Ohio border. That Capt. Michael Cresap and Gen. George Rogers Clarke, who were at the mouth of the Kanawha ready to start with a colony to Kentucky, heard these stories and believing them, abandoned their expedition and moved up the river to Wheeling for safety. That the doctor having stirred the whites of West Augusta up to the greatest excitement, invited some Indian chiefs to visit him at Pittsburgh. That they came and he entertained them with generous hospitality, but while so doing he sends a letter to Capt. Cresap at Wheeling, telling him that the Indians meant war, that they were not to be trusted, that he would know about matters in a few days, and that he wanted Cresap in the interval to be on the alert and watch and guard that part of the country. That the doctor loads the chiefs with presents, fills two canoes with stores, ammunition and guns, and the chiefs depart down the Ohio to their homes. Early in the morning the next day after Cresap had received Connolly's letter, the canoes were seen approaching Wheeling island. Unfortunately they take the west channel. The Cresap party make instant pursuit. A life and death chase takes place. The Indians are overtaken at the mouth of the Captina, murdered, and their scalps brought back to Wheeling in triumph. The next morning the Cresap party start for Yellow creek, but after going a few miles stop to take refreshments. Here Cresap tells his men that it would be nothing but murder to kill the Indians at Yellow creek as they were surely peaceable, as they had their women and children with them. Following Cresap's advice the party returned to Wheeling. The next morning Cresap and Gen. George Rogers Clarke, with some others of the party, started for Brownsville. On that very day Logan's kin were murdered at Yellow creek, so that Cresap was fully thirty miles away at the very moment that slaughter was going on. Logan's kindred were murdered on the 24th day of May, 1774, and the second day after the affair at Captina.

Mingo Bottom is about thirty miles above Wheeling and on the Ohio side. At this spot Logan and his people were camped. On the opposite side of the river Joshua Baker kept a tavern, a regular backwoods grog shop. The notorious Daniel Great-house lived in the vicinity of this tavern. He was a blood-thirsty, heartless man, and had been one of Connolly's prime agents in arousing the passions of the whites. For several days he had been collecting men to attack Logan's camp. Having heard of the massacre at Captina, he secreted his men about the tavern, while he himself crossed the river to ascertain the strength of the camp. A squaw, said to be Logan's sister, told him to go away as the men were mad about Captina, and would

kill him if they saw him. Being so warned and finding the number of warriors too great for assault he returns.

It was the habit of the Indians to come over every day for their whisky, so Greathouse arranges with Baker that he should furnish them with all the liquor they could drink and he would foot the bill, and when the men were well drunken to give him the signal. Greathouse then secretes himself with his comrades. In a short time a number of warriors came over bringing women and children with them. Soon the men are reeling and tumbling about in drunkenness, Baker gives the signal and the work begins. Rifles crack, tomahawks crash into the brains of drunken red men, scalping knives drip with the blood of women and children and indiscriminate slaughter dashes out the lives of all the Indians but a little girl. A brother of Logan fell, and his sister, whose motherly condition adds horror to the deed, is ripped open and her body stuck up on a pole. The red men at the camp made efforts several times to come to the aid of their friends but are driven back by a deadly fire from the whites, and they leave their dead with their murderers. Logan was on the other side of the river and saw the slaughter of his people; he heard their screams and cries for help but he was powerless. But the spirit of revenge filled his soul. The camp at Mingo Bottom broke up, and the Indians departed for their villages on the Muskingum.

Nothing is again known of Logan until the prejudices and habits of a lifetime are dissipated and changed from a man of love and peace to one of vengeance and war—vengeance and war against the whole white race. Putting himself on the war-path he strikes his first blow no one knows where. On the 12th of July he strikes his second at the house of one Robinson, with Robinson and other prisoners and thirteen scalps, Logan and his band hurry back to Muskingum. Logan saves the life of Robinson by having him adopted into one of the Indian families. He then makes Robinson his secretary. On the 21st of July, Robinson writes the following note at the dictation of Logan:

"Captain Cresap: What did you kill my people on Yellow creek for? The white people killed my kin at Conestoga a great while ago, and I thought nothing of that, but you killed my kin again on Yellow creek and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times since the war: but the Indians are not mad, only myself.

"CAPTAIN JOHN LOGAN."

Logan and his band once more set out from their village, and massacred a family by the name of Roberts, on the Holston, sparing none. Here the above note was left tied to a war-club. It was found by the whites a few days afterward, and this mem-

orable writing went into history. From this note we learn that he charged Capt. Cresap, the son, and not Col. Cresap, the father, with the murder at Yellow creek.

The speech charges the colonel, but that is only a printer's mistake. From this note we also get these facts, that he knew nothing of the excitement that was stirring the red nations of the west to war, and that he had no part in raising the storm that burst on the settlements soon after. Logan was carrying on a war of his own—with his own hands and those of his faithful band, he was glutting with the blood of the white race, that revenge, which atrocities to his kin had roused in his heart. With this stroke of vengeance his revenge is glutted, and while the Indian warriors are gathering about the Ohio to meet the army of the white men approaching it, he is wandering the woods, absorbed in a struggle with his feelings.

A few days before the battle of Point Pleasant, a Mr. Poole, who lived near Wheeling, encountered Logan in the woods seated on a log near his cabin. Logan asked him: "Brother, do you know me, John Logan?" Poole replied "that he did not." Logan then asked, "You our brother." "Yes," said Poole. Logan arose and catching Poole in his arms hugged him warmly. Poole asked him why he was so sad. He said, "Your white brothers killed my kin at Yellow creek and me sorry," then burst into tears. Poole took him to his cabin and gave him something to eat. As Logan was about to leave he gave Poole a pipe and a flint, and then started for Captina. This incident is of priceless value to the good name of Logan. He was about to face the greatest trial of his life, the warriors of his people who had risen to avenge his wrongs, were about to meet the whites in battle. How should Logan act? He was at peace himself with the white man, for his revenge was satisfied, but to fail to act with his people would have been dishonorable and mean. He strikes the line of honor and pursues it. He embraces Poole with the affection of a brother, and then gives him the symbol of his love and then throws the hazard of his life with his people.

At the battle of Point Pleasant he was in joint command with Cornstalk. And that deadliest, fiercest and hardest contested field ever struggled for between the white and red man, fully vindicates his genius as a captain. The Indians were defeated and fled in confusion to their towns on the Scioto, followed closely by the army of Dunmore. The Indians sue for peace, and the treaty at Camp Charlotte soon followed. Logan did not attend the council of his people and refused to have anything to do with the treaty. Why Logan pursued the course he did is obvious from what has been said. He had done nothing toward waging the war. He had not aided to arouse the tribes to arms, or assisted to combine them for battle, and he had taken a part at Point Pleasant

only to save himself from dishonor. The deeds he had done were personal acts, and for them he took the responsibility entirely on himself. What he had done he had done, and the whites might make the most of them.

Dunmore, however, not knowing the character of this wonderful man, or the motives that moved him, or pretending, for a purpose, to doubt the stability of a treaty with which so great a chief would have nothing to do, to give a show of sincerity to his own desires, sends three of his officers to find out if possible the feelings of Logan. They find him at his cabin, but he refuses to converse with them. He surveys them for a few minutes and then asks Gen. Gibson, who was one of the three, to walk to the woods with him. They seat themselves on a log and there, after rehearsing his wrongs and what he had done to avenge them — sometimes crying as if his heart would break — Logan delivers to Gen. Gibson the manuscript of the speech that has given immortality to his name.

Over a hundred years have passed since this speech was translated into every leading language in Christendom, and now it is everywhere regarded as a gem of oratory. But the speech as so translated and as so highly esteemed for its oratory, is not after all the speech of Logan — it is simply Mr. Jefferson's version of it. That great man in his effort to add to its beauty, has broken its fair proportions, and in trying to purify its diction, has lessened its sublimity and force. And if we had only his version of the speech, criticism and candor would force us to say, too much polish for an Indian orator. Mr. Jefferson should have kept in mind what he well knew, that oratory is a native product, and cannot be tampered with. True oratory comes only from one whose feelings are stirred to their profoundest depths by the subject he is discussing, and when it does come it is like lava bursting from the crater, hot and glowing with the fires that are burning at its source.

Fortunately, however, the first printed copy ever made of the speech has been preserved, and as the original manuscript has been lost, this copy is the next best evidence of the speech. It is as follows:

"I appeal to any white man to say that he ever entered Logan's cabin, but I gave him meat; that he ever came naked but I clothed him. In the course of the last war Logan remained in his cabin an advocate for peace. I had such affection for the white people that I was pointed at by the rest of my nation. I should have even lived with them, had it not been for Col. Cresap, who last spring cut off in cold blood all the relations of Logan, not sparing women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many and fully

glutted my revenge. I am glad that there is a prospect of peace on account of the nation, but I beg you will not entertain a thought that anything I have said proceeds from fear. Logan disdains the thought. He will not turn his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan. No one."

The following is Mr. Jefferson's version: "I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I have even thought to have lived with you but for the injuries of one man. Col. Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There is not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace—but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

By comparing these two versions, we find that every sentence of the original has been altered in the common version, except three; that one sentence has been added which does not appear in the original; and that every change has injured the speech. Some of the sentences in Mr. Jefferson's version are made stiff and unwieldy by a too rigid adherence to old-time grammatical nicety. Take this sentence as an instance: "I have even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man." Does not that smack too much of the school for Logan? The grammar kills the eloquence of the expression. It also changes the address from the third to the second person without any reason for it and thus breaks the harmony that runs through the whole of the original. Then again, he takes out the word revenge and inserts the word vengeance in the expression "and fully glutted my revenge." He is trying to show that "raw head and bloody bones," called tautology, so horrible to university men, and a pretty mess he has made of it. The word vengeance in that place does not express Logan's thought at all. Logan meant that his desire to do hurt to the whites was "fully glutted." Vengeance represents an act induced by a passion and not the passion itself. It is sometimes so used, but it is an error of language. Again: "For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace." Logan had no country, but he had a nation. The figure "beams of peace" is elegant but entirely too gossamer for an orator gushing forth his overcharged feelings. Besides, Logan at the time he deliv-

ered his speech to Gibson did not know that a treaty of peace had been signed. Peace was only in prospect so far as he knew, and that prospective peace made him glad for the sake of the nation. "Never felt fear." Logan never used those words or even expressed such a thought. It is not like him. His whole life controverts its use for it is bombastical and egotistical. Under the circumstances it were nothing more than silly bravado. It moreover mars the grandeur and sublimity of the concluding sentences in which he reveals with such pathos the hopeless wretchedness that had settled on his life.

There is not a doubt that Logan could speak English well, but it is as equally certain that he did not usually do so. Nor could he read or write a single word. These facts raise quite an interesting question — how did his speech get composed? The reader will remember that the note tied to a war club and addressed to Capt. Cresap, was written by Robinson at Logan's dictation. Robinson also tells us that he had to write it over three times before it suited Logan. The similarity in the construction of the sentences and the sameness of style in that note and in the speech, if we had no other evidence, are sufficient to prove that they are the product of the same mind. But fortunately for the speech we have the testimony of an eye witness to the fact. Mr. Jacob Davis, late of Bartholomew county, Ind., tells us that he was with his father on a trading expedition at Loganstown when the speech was delivered to Gibson, and that he saw a trader there write it for Logan, and at his dictation. So the author of the speech is placed beyond doubt or cavil.

Logan's life after the Dunmore war was one of sorrow and gloom. All the objects of his love had passed away by the murders that brought it on, and having no one to love or to share his troubles with him, life became a burden. He sought to lessen that burden by intoxicating drinks, and much of his subsequent life was spent under their influence.

In the year 1775, the celebrated Simon Kenton built his last cabin for him. Logan in return, in 1778, when Kenton was a prisoner in the hands of the Shawnees, and had been condemned to be burnt at a stake, saved the life of that great borderer by the interposition of his powerful influence in his behalf.

During the revolutionary war there was a reign of terror throughout the pioneer border. Logan took no part in any of its bloody scenes, but remained at home and whenever opportunity offered he never failed to save the lives of the prisoners that were being constantly brought in.

Logan was tall of stature and of great muscular development. His appearance at once attracted attention and commanded respect. He talked but little, but when he did it was right to the point and carried conviction by its force and candor.

His religious opinions were the same as those universally entertained by the red man. But we might be sure that so profound a thinker as he was, would produce some new thought concerning spiritual being, and he did. He believed that he had two souls, the one good and the other bad; that when his good soul was in the ascendant he could do nothing but good; but when his bad soul had the control he wished to do nothing but kill. These ideas of a dualism of souls in each individual, and referring all acts according to their quality to the one or the other of these souls, are both new and strange.

In 1779 Logan visited Detroit, and while there indulged in some terrible fits of intoxication, and in them did many things he would not have done had he been sober. As he was returning homeward, and only a little way from Detroit, he was murdered by an Indian, whom he had insulted at that place. Logan was seated at a camp fire with his blanket thrown over his head and his elbows resting on his knees. The Indian approached him stealthily and buried his tomahawk in his brains. And so perished John Logan the Mingo chief.

In addition to the measures we have recounted for the repression of Indian outrages, more extensive ones had been taken by Gov. Dunmore in the adoption of a plan of campaign, by an army of such superior force, as promised to effectually crush the spirit of the Indians and call a halt to their warfare on the borders. To resist this force would require the combined efforts of all the Indian warriors. The army designed for this expedition was chiefly composed of volunteers and militia collected from the counties west of the Blue Ridge, and consisted of two columns, the one commanded by the Earl of Dunmore in person, and the other by Gen. Andrew Lewis. The former were to assemble at Fort Pitt, and the latter were to rendezvous at Camp Union, in the Greenbrier country.

On the 17th of September, 1774, Gen. Lewis with a force of 1,100 men, took up his line of march from Camp Union (now Lewisburg), for Point Pleasant, situated at the confluence of the Great Kanawha and the Ohio, a distance of 160 miles. This march was through an unbroken wilderness, through which by means of a guide acquainted with the passes in the mountains and the trails of the Indians, they were safely conducted to the Point after a laborious and toilsome march of nineteen days, arriving there on the afternoon of the 30th of September, fully expecting, according to the arrangements with the Earl of Dunmore, to meet the latter at this place. To the great disappointment and chagrin of Gen. Lewis, Dunmore failed to keep his appointment. The army at once went into camp, expecting daily the arrival of the column from Fort Pitt. After an interval of nine days a runner from Dunmore came into camp, sent

by the nobleman to convey to Gen. Lewis the announcement of a change of his original plan of operations, and also conveying the information that he had marched for the Chellico, the town at which place he gave instructions to Gen. Lewis to join him. Prior to the arrival of the runner sent by Dunmore, Gen. Lewis had dispatched runners by land to Wheeling, and if necessary to proceed to Fort Pitt, to obtain if possible, some tidings of Earl Dunmore, and to ascertain the reason of his delay, with instructions to advise him promptly. In their absence, however, as already indicated, advices were received on the 9th of October, from Dunmore, that he had concluded to proceed across the country by the most direct route to the Shawnee towns, without mentioning the reasons which had influenced him in arriving at such determination. Though left in doubt as to these, Gen. Lewis recognized it to be his duty to at once obey the command of his superior officer, and immediately began to make preparations for the transportation of his troops across the Ohio river. But before the necessary preparations for crossing were concluded an attack was made upon the force of Gen. Lewis, by a large body of Indians composed of Shawnee, Delaware, Mingo and Wyandot tribes. This attack occurred on Monday morning, October 10. The main part of the army under the command of Col. Charles Lewis and Col. Fleming was at once involved. The Indians, as usual, took advantage of cover, and fought from behind logs and fallen timber, forming a line extending across the Point from the Ohio to the Kanawha. The battle commenced at sunrise and the severity of the engagement was unequalled. Victory for a time hung in an equal balance. But at last the pluck and discipline of the whites turned the scale in their favor, and as the sun went down in the west the shouts of victory from the whites arose and were borne away on the wings of evening as she spread the mantle of her covering over the sanguinary field.

During the engagement Col. Lewis was slain, and Col. Fleming was wounded. The battle was sustained with stubbornness and obstinacy on both sides. During the engagement a large number of officers were killed, besides privates, these latter numbering not less than seventy and about 140 wounded. Owing to their peculiar mode of warfare and the facility with which they carry away and conceal their slain, it is impossible to give an accurate account of the number of Indians who were killed, but thirty-seven of their dead were found upon the field and it is known that many of the slain were cast into the waters of the Ohio. It is also impossible to state the number of the enemy engaged. Some of their prominent leaders were Red Hawk, a Delaware chief; Scopathus, a Mingo; Ellinipsco, a Shawnee; Chyawee, a Wyandot, and Logan; but the most prominent one, whose bravery was prominent and whose skill was conspicuous,

was that able and consummate warrior, Cornstalk. If for a moment amid the contest his warriors seemed to waver, his shout in stentorian tones rung out above the din of the conflict as he urged them onward, with the voice of a trumpet, "*Be strong! Be strong!*" If one hesitated and was reluctant to engage in the charge, or showed the least sign of trepidation, with giant-blow he severed the skull of the recreant with one swing of his tomahawk. Inspired by his presence and animated by his example, his undisciplined followers manifested a bravery and exhibited a fortitude unexcelled by the most thoroughly furnished and well-drilled troops among civilized nations.

Withers in his mention of this battle, in speaking of Cornstalk, says: "This distinguished chief and consummate warrior, proved himself on that day, to be justly entitled to the prominent station which he occupied. His plan of alternate retreat and attack was well conceived and occasioned the principal loss sustained by the whites."

After burying his dead he entrenched his camp and leaving a sufficient guard to minister to the wounded and to protect them during his absence, on the day subsequent to the battle, Gen. Lewis commenced his march to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto. Dunmore, who had in the meanwhile gathered his forces at Fort Pitt, where he had provided boats and canoes, descended the river to Wheeling, arrived at which latter place he halted his army and remained for a few days before proceeding down the river on his voyage. While at Fort Pitt he was joined by the notorious Simon Girty, who remained with him until the close of the expedition. After completing some necessary arrangements at Wheeling he continued his journey down the Ohio, and on his way was joined by that infamous tory, Dr. John Connolly. Instead of proceeding to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, as he had arranged to do with Gen. Lewis, he landed at the mouth of the Big Hockhocking, where he built a block house as a receptacle for his surplus stores and ammunition. Resuming his movements from this point and re-commencing his advance toward the Indian towns, in a day or two he was met by an Indian trader bearing a flag of truce, with proposals of peace and requesting that a council might be held at Fort Pitt. Dunmore replied to these overtures in effect that as the chiefs were already near him, it would be advisable and more convenient to hold a treaty then and there. The movements of Gen. Lewis after he had crossed the Ohio were rapid, and in a short time he had reached the Pickaway plains. Here he was met by an express from Dunmore ordering him to stop, as he was about to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Indians. But Lewis, disregarding the orders, continued to advance until when he had arrived within three or four miles of Dunmore's camp,

he was met by Dunmore himself, who reiterated his orders and peremptorily ordered him to return to Point Pleasant, where he was to leave a competent guard to protect the place and a sufficient amount of provisions for the wounded, and then to march the remainder of his troops to the place of rendezvous, where he was instructed to disband them.

□ It would be in vain to attempt to describe the chagrin and disappointment of these brave men exasperated by the losses they had met with in the battle at the Point and the hardships they had experienced in their difficult march through the wilderness, to be compelled to forego the object of the expedition, which was now so near its accomplishment and just within their grasp. It was no wonder that indignant murmurings were indulged in and fearful threats were uttered. But these were quelled by the tact of Gen. Lewis, who, although his sympathies were with his men yet his duty as a soldier led him to set the example of obedience which is the highest virtue of those who bear arms.

After the treaty was concluded the division of the army led by Dunmore returned over the same route by which they had advanced, to the mouth of the Hockhocking, where he disbanded his troops and they returned to their homes in Virginia, with the exception of a few who accompanied Dunmore by water to Fort Dunmore, which name had been bestowed upon Fort Pitt, by Dr. John Connolly, a protege of Dunmore, and which had been forcibly seized under the orders of Dunmore and at his instance, by Connolly in the winter preceding. The seizure was made under the claim that it was within the jurisdiction of Virginia. It was also claimed by Pennsylvania as being within her boundaries. These occurrences transpired at a time when the feeling between the mother country and the colonies was daily growing more bitter and intense. The destruction of the tea in Boston harbor had occurred in the month of March, of this year.

The Boston port bill, the immediate cause for actual conflict between the mother country and the colonies, had been received by the House of Burgesses in May, and they had recommended that the first day of June, the day on which the bill was to go into operation, be observed "as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, imploring the Divine interposition to avert the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights and the evils of a civil war." It was on account of this recommendation that Gov. Dunmore prorogued the assembly. Dunmore, as we have already stated, on his way from Fort Pitt, had halted with his army at Wheeling. It was while at this place on that occasion that he received dispatches from the British government; what their tenor was we are unable to state, but it is certain that the plan of campaign settled on between him and Gen. Lewis at Williamsburgh, was not changed until after their receipt.

It would not, however, be a violent conjecture in view of his dissolution of the assembly, and the sudden change made by him in the plan of his campaign while at Wheeling and the state of feeling existing at the time between the mother country and the colonies, to conclude that his government had instructed him to take necessary steps to secure the Indians, if possible, as allies of Great Britain in the apprehended conflict, which was now looming up in the near future. It is certain, at all events, that his treaty with the Indians was entered into at a time and under circumstances which gave just cause of suspicion to his conduct, and that he was inimical to the interests, well-being and prosperity of the colony of Virginia.



CHAPTER IV.

THE BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN PENNSYLVANIA AND VIRGINIA—THE SEIZURE OF FORT PITT BY DR. JOHN CONNOLLY—CONFLICTING CLAIMS TO THE DISPUTED TERRITORY—PROCLAMATION OF LORD DUNMORE—CIRCULAR LETTER OF THE DELEGATES OF PENNSYLVANIA AND VIRGINIA—PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH A NEW STATE—PATRIOTISM OF THE PEOPLE—COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY PENNSYLVANIA AND VIRGINIA—SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE TWO STATES.



THE boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia, defining the jurisdiction of these two colonies, had for several years prior to 1774, been a subject of controversy. At the close of the Dunmore campaign, the excitement of the inhabitants of Westmoreland (a county which had been established in the year 1773 by the legislature of the first-named colony) and those of Augusta county, Va., began to assume a threatening character, occasioned by the state of Pennsylvania including in the new county all of the territory in dispute between the two colonies. The origin of this difficulty is traceable mainly to the indefinite provisions of their charters and the loose manner in which they were worded, thus involving their respective boundaries in uncertainty and doubt. In 1773 Lord Dunmore, the colonial governor of Virginia, attempted to enforce jurisdiction over the territory around the headwaters of the Ohio, claiming it as being within the boundaries of Augusta county, Va. Virginia claimed title under the charter of James I., granted in the year 1606, while Pennsylvania claimed title under the charter issued by Charles II., in 1681.

The ideas of geography, so far as the western continent was concerned, in those early days were rather crude and indefinite. The controversy between Dunmore and Gov. Penn in regard to the disputed territory waxed very warm, and in the year 1774 had reached a high state of excitement. Two separate authorities claimed jurisdiction over it, and the inhabitants of the territory in dispute, recognized one or the other as it suited their individual tastes and inclinations. Warrants conveying titles to the same lands were issued under the authority of both colonies, the result of which was to encourage quarrels and disputes and arouse the most embittered feelings among the settlers.

In the year 1774, Gov. Dunmore opened offices for the sale of lands in what are now the counties of Fayette, Washington, Allegheny and Greene, in the state of Pennsylvania, which were issued at the rate of two shillings and sixpence, as fees. The price paid per hundred acres was ten shillings, but even this sum was not, in many instances, demanded. The price per hundred acres charged by the Pennsylvania land office was greatly in excess of that charged by the Virginia offices, amounting to about \$25. Hence the inducement to purchase from the Virginia offices in preference to the Pennsylvania office, had a prevailing influence with the settlers.

In the year 1774, Dunmore determined to take advantage of the unsettled condition of affairs on the western border, and accordingly appointed Dr. John Connolly as vice-governor and commandant of the district of West Augusta, a rash and unscrupulous man, who, with a force of Virginia militia, seized Fort Pitt and held it as the property of Virginia, and changed its name to Fort Dunmore. The nearest court at that time was held at Stanton, Va. The distance from the western borders to that town being so great and the unsettled condition of the country, led to the establishment of a court at Fort Pitt, of which Connolly was one of the justices. Upon the return of Lord Dunmore from his campaign against the Indians, to Fort Pitt, he issued a proclamation with a view of quelling the disturbances prevailing in the disputed territory, and warning the inhabitants not to obstruct the administration of His Majesty's government as he had reason to apprehend. The document we here subjoin:

"WHEREAS, I have reason to apprehend that the government of Pennsylvania, in prosecution of their claims to Pittsburgh and its dependencies, will endeavor to obstruct His Majesty's government thereof, under my administration, by illegal and unwarrantable commitment of the officers I have appointed for that purpose, and that settlement is in some danger of annoyance from the Indians also, and it being necessary to support the dignity of His Majesty's government and protect his subjects in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of their rights, I have therefore thought proper, by and with the consent and advice of His Majesty's council, by this proclamation in His Majesty's name, to order and require the officers of militia in that district to embody a sufficient number of men to repel any insult whatsoever, and all His Majesty's liege subjects within this colony are hereby strictly required to be aiding and assisting therein, or they shall answer the contrary at their peril; and I further enjoin and require the several inhabitants of the territories aforesaid to pay His Majesty's quit rents and public dues to such officers as are

or shall be appointed to collect the same within this dominion until His Majesty's pleasure therein shall be known."

This proclamation indicates to some extent the feeling prevailing in the upper Ohio valley at that day. The prevailing state of affairs was the more to be deprecated from the circumstances surrounding the political situation of the colonies at this period, which were making the necessary preparations at the time, to meet the approaching storm of war, which threatened in a few months at the furthest [to develop into actual conflict between the mother country and the colonies. The conservative and patriotic citizens of each colony exerted their influence in endeavoring to quell the passions and excitements of the hour, but in vain. The passions of the masses appear to have become more inflamed and their excitement to increase. Deeming it the best mode to arrive at a solution of the difficulty, it was proposed finally to petition congress to establish a new state, in which was to be included the disputed territory. Hence a petition to this effect was presented to congress proposing the fourteenth state. In this petition was set forth the conflicting claims of the two states, and also justly complaining of the laying of land warrants on land claimed by others, which had been issued by Dunmore's officers. The unfortunate state of affairs existing at the time will be more evident from a circular letter, addressed to the discontented inhabitants, and appealing to their patriotism, to desist from extreme measures, and to exercise a spirit of mutual forbearance. This letter was issued by the delegates from the two states in congress, and bears the date of Philadelphia, July 25, 1775, and is as follows:

To the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Virginia on the west side of the Laurel Hill:

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN: It gives us much concern to find that disturbances have arisen and still continue among you, concerning the boundaries of our colonies. In the character in which we now address you, it is unnecessary to inquire into the origin of those unhappy disputes, and it would be improper for us to express our approbation or censure on either side; but as representatives of two of the colonies united among many others, for the defense of the liberties of America, we think it our duty to remove as far as lies in our power, every obstacle that may prevent her sons from co-operating as vigorously as they would wish to do toward the attainment of this great and important end. Influenced solely by this motive, our joint and earnest request to you is, that all animosities which have heretofore subsisted among you, as inhabitants of distinct colonies, may now give place to generous and concurring efforts for the preserva-

tion of everything that can make our common country dear to us.

We are fully persuaded that you, as well as we, wish to see your differences terminate in this happy issue. For this desirable purpose we recommend it to you, that all bodies of armed men kept up under either province, be dismissed; that all those on either side who are in confinement, or under bail for taking a part in the contest, be discharged; and that until the dispute be decided, every person be permitted to retain his possessions unmolested. By observing these directions the public tranquility will be secured without injury to the titles on either side; the period we flatter ourselves, will soon arrive when this unfortunate dispute, which has produced much mischief and as far as we can learn, no good, will be peaceably and constitutionally determined.

We are your friends and countrymen:

JOHN DICKINSON,

GEO. ROSS,

B. FRANKLIN,

JAMES WILSON,

CHAS. HUMPHREYS,

P. HENRY,

RICHARD HENRY LEE,

BENJ. HARRISON,

TH. JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, July 25, 1775.

Such was not only the state of affairs at the time the foregoing document bears date, but such they continued to be in 1776, at the time of the declaration of our independence. Neither the kindling of the flames of the revolution, nor the conciliatory and kind letters of the delegates in congress from the two colonies, nor the patriotic and earnest appeals of individuals, had the effect of wholly quenching the spirit of bitterness and prejudice which had been enkindled and which continued to smoulder and at intervals to burst forth in fearful intensity and power. It was believed at the time, and this belief, in part at least, appeared to have been confirmed by subsequent events, that it was the policy of Lord Dunmore to fan the flames of discord and to keep alive the jealousies existing between the discontented of the two colonies as the issue between the mother country and the colonies was rapidly assuming shape, and the hour for decisive action was near at hand. Hence, if he could succeed in embroiling the inhabitants of this region in inter-cine quarrels and at the same time turn loose upon them the savages as allies of the mother country, his sagacity assured him that to that extent at least he would paralyze the energies of the colonists and compromise their cause. As has been supposed, with a view of accomplishing this purpose, he had appointed Dr. John Connolly as an instrument who could be depended upon. As heretofore stated Connolly took possession of Fort Pitt, and proceeded to repair and rebuild it, and changed

its name. This man Connolly was a native of Lancaster county in the state of Pennsylvania, and was a tory of the deepest dye. He was an unprincipled schemer and withal excessively ambitious. He devoted himself earnestly to the work which he had in hand and ingeniously kept alive the broils and troubles existing between the inhabitants of the two colonies. Some of the means employed by him consisted in the arrest and imprisonment of unoffending magistrates for no other reason than that they held commissions from the governor of Pennsylvania and were acting under the authority of these commissions. These persons he would send to Virginia for trial on treasonable charges. The property of individuals deemed by him to be personally obnoxious, he unhesitatingly confiscated or destroyed. Private houses were entered and carefully searched for letters or documents with the purpose of finding evidence which might compromise them or in some manner involve them as being criminally guilty of offenses. He also insolently abused those individuals who did not think, speak or act as he did, as enemies. The more surely to attach him to himself and to secure his services, Dunmore made him a grant of 2,000 acres of land at the falls of the Ohio, where the city of Louisville now stands. He occupies in local history the same unenviable notoriety which Arnold does in National history. Both were traitors to their country—both were the victims of licentious wickedness and unbridled ambition—both were unprincipled and treacherous—both sold themselves and would, if they could have accomplished it, have sold their country for British gold, as they in fact attempted to do, but failed in the effort, and both merited the gibbet. To complete their likeness both were placed on half pay on the British establishment as a further reward for their treason to their country.

A few years since, the writer discovered among the papers of the Pennsylvania Historical Society a document which has never been published heretofore, and which was found among the papers of Hon. Jasper Yeates, which had, just before the writer's discovery, been turned over to that society. The writer was subsequently informed that the original was lost and could not be found. If this be so, this copy taken by me at the time, is, so far as we are aware, the only one in existence. Judge Yeates was a distinguished jurist of Lancaster county, Penn. In the year 1776 he was sent by the continental congress to Fort Pitt to act as commissioner of Indian affairs. In 1774 he was a member of the committee of correspondence of Lancaster county. He was one of the judges of the supreme court of Pennsylvania from the year 1791 to the year 1817, and was also a member of the convention which ratified the constitution of the United States. He also published reports of cases decided by the supreme court of Penn-

sylvania. He was a man of fine abilities, scholarly and refined, and exercised a guiding and directing influence in shaping the future greatness and growing destiny, as well as in forming and shaping the history of his native state. A man of enterprise and great public spirit, he has left behind him as a proud heritage, the noble record of a well-spent, exceptional and honorable life.

The document above referred to sets forth the differences and complaints of the inhabitants in the disputed territory, and their request to be established as a separate state. The length of the document, which is in the form of a petition, does not detract from its value and importance. Jacob, in his "Life of Captain Cresap," has a brief reference to this paper, but declined to publish it on account of its length. But as it fits into this boundary question and is a part of its history, no apology is needed for its publication. It is as follows, *verbatim et literatim*;

"To the Honorable the President & Delegates of the thirteen united American Colonies in General Congress assembled:

"The Memorial of the Inhabitants of the Country, West of the Allegheny Mountains,

Represents:

"That — Whereas the Provinces of Pennsylvania & Virginia set up Claims to this large and extensive Country, which for a considerable Time past have been productive of & attended with the usual Concomitants & pernicious & destructive Effects of discordant & contending Jurisdictions, innumerable Frauds, Impositions, Violences, Depredations, Feuds, Animosities, Divisions, Litigations, Disorders & even with the Effusion of human Blood, to the utter Subversion of all Laws human & divine of Justice, Order, Regularity & in a great Measure even of Liberty itself & must unless a timely speedy Stop be put to them in all Probability terminate in a Civil War, which how far it may effect the Union of the Colonies & in the General Cause of America, we leave to your prudent, impartial & Serious Consideration.

"And Whereas (exclusive of & as an Addition & further aggravation to the many accumulated Injuries & Miseries and complicated & insupportable Grievances & Oppressions, we already labor under, in Consequence of the aforesaid Claims & the Controversies &c there-by occasioned, the fallacies, Violences, and fraudulent Impositions of Land Jobbers, pretended Officers & Partisans of both Land Officers & others under the Sanction of the Jurisdiction of their respective Provinces, the Earl of Dunmore's Warrants, Officer's & Soldier's Rights & an Infinity of other Pretexts, in which they have of late proceeded so far, as in express Contradiction to the Declaration of the Continental Commissioners made on the ninth day October 1775 at the Treaty at Fort Pitt made encroachments on the Indian Territorial

Rights by improving laying Warrants & Officers Claims & Surveying some of the Islands in the Ohio and Tomahawking (or as they term it) improving in a Variety of Places on the Western side of the said River, to the great, imminent & Manifest Danger of involving the Country in a bloody, ruinous & destructive War with the Indians, a people extremely watchful, tenacious & jealous of their Rights, Privileges & Liberties, and already it is to be doubted, too much inclined to a Rupture and Commencement of Hostilities from the Persuasions & Influences of British Emissaries, Agents & Officers & the little attention unfortunately hitherto paid to them by the American Confederacy in Conciliating their affections, Confidence and Friendship:) there are a number of private or other Claims to Lands within the Limits of this Country, equally embarrassing & perplexing: George Croghan Esquire, in various Tracts, Claims Lands by Purchase from the Six Nations in 1748 and confirmed to him at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 to the Amount by Computation of 200,000 Acres on which are settled already 150 to 200 Families:—Major William Trent in Behalf of himself & the Traders who suffered by the Indian depredations in 1763 another large Tract containing at least 4,000,000 of Acres by Donation & Cession of the Six Nations aforesaid at the aforesaid Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 & on which 1,500 or 2,000 Families are already Settled:—and there was on the 4th Day of January 1770 a Certain Contract and Purchase made by the Honourable Thomas Walpole & Associates (including the Ohio Company & the Officers & Soldiers in the Service of the Colony of Virginia Claiming under the Engagements of that Colony in the year 1754) under the name of the Grand Ohio or Vandalia Company with and of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury on Behalf of Crown for an Extensive Tract of Country within the Purchase & Cession from the aforesaid Six Nations & their Confederates at the said Treaty of Fort Stanwix aforesaid made and by his Majesty's Special Command & Direction notified to the Indians of the Western Tribes of the aforesaid Confederacy on the 3d day of April 1773, by Alexander McKee Esq Deputy Agent of the Western Department for Indian Affairs on the Plains of Scioto, who by their Answer of the 6th of the Same Month expressed their Approbation thereof, & Satisfaction & Acquiescence therein, at the same time justly observing that for the Peace of the Country, it was as necessary for prudent People to govern the White Settlers, as for the Indians to take Care of their foolish young men.

“This is a country of at least 240 Miles in Length from the Kittanning to opposite the mouth of Scioto 70 or 80 in Breadth from the Allegheny Mountains to the Ohio, rich, fertile & healthy even beyond a credibility & peopled by at least 25,000 Families

since the year 1768 (a population we believe scarce to be paralleled in the Annals of any Country. Miserably distressed and harassed and rendered a scene of the most consummate Anarchy & Confusion by the Ambition of some & avarice of others, and its wretched Inhabitants (who through almost insuperable Difficulties, Hardships, Fatigues & Dangers at the most imminent Risque of their lives, their little all & every thing that was dear & Valuable to them, were endeavoring to secure an Asylum & a safe Retreat from threatening Penury for their tender & numerous Families with which they had removed from the lower Provinces & settled themselves in different Parts of the afore said Lands & Claims, Agreeable to the usual Mode of Colonization & Ancient equitable & long established Custom & usage of the Colonies, the Rights of Pre-Emption whenever those Lands could be rightfully & legally conveyed & disposed of after surmounting every other obstacles to their hopes, their wishes, their Expectations now unhappily find themselves in a worse & more deplorable situation than whilst living on the poor barren rented Lands in their various respective Provinces below; through Party Range, the Multiplicity of Proprietary Claims & Claimants & the Precariousness & Uncertainty of every kind of Property from the fore cited causes, the want of regular Administration of Justice & of a due & proper Execution & Exertion of a System of Laws & Regulations & Mode of Polity & Government adapted to their peculiar Necessities, local Circumstances & Situations, and its Inhabitants, who though neither Politicians, Courtiers nor orators, are at least a rational & Social People, inured to hardships & Fatigues & by experience taught to despise Dangers & Difficulties, and having immigrated from almost every Province of America, brought up under & accustomed to various different & in many respects discordant and even contradictory Systems of Laws & Government and since their being here from the want of Laws & order irritated & exasperated by ills & urged & compelled by oppressions & sufferings, and having imbibed the highest & most extensive Ideas of Liberty, as the only pure efficient Source of happiness and Prosperity will with difficulty, submit to the being annexed to or Subjugated by (Terms Synonymous to them) any one of those Provinces, much less the being partitioned or parcelled out among them, or be prevailed on to Entail a State of Vassalage & dependence on their Posterity or suffer themselves who might be the happiest & perhaps not the least useful Part of the American Confederacy as forming a secure extensive & Effectual Frontier & Barrier against the Incursions, Ravages & Depredations of the Western savages to be enslaved by any set of Proprietary or other claimants or arbitrarily deprived & robbed of those Lands & that country to which by the Laws of Nature & of Nations they are entitled as

first occupants and for the Possessions of which they have resigned their all & exposed themselves and Families to Inconveniences, Danger & Difficulties which language itself wants words to express & describe, whilst the rest of their Countrymen softened by Ease, enervated by Affluence & Luxurious Plenty & unaccustomed to Fatigues, Hardships, Difficulties or Dangers are bravely Contending for & Exerting themselves on Behalf of a Constitutional, Natural, rational & Social Liberty.

"We the Subscribers Inhabitants of the country as aforesaid therefore by Leave by — hereby plenarily, amply & specially delegated, interested, authorized & impowered, to act & to do for us on this occasion as our immediate Representatives, Solicitors, Agents & Attornies, Humbly to represent to you, as the Guardians, Trustees & Curators, Conservators & Defences of all that is dear to us or valuable to Americans, that in our opinions no Country or People can be either rich, flourishing, happy or free (the only laudable rightful, useful, warrantable & rational Ends of Government) or enjoy the Sweets of that Liberty, the Love & Desire of which is radically impressed or Self-Existent with & animates & Actuates every brave, generous, humane, and honest soul, and for which every American Breast at this time pants & glows with an unusual Flow of Warmth & Expectation & with redoubled Zeal & Ardor; whilst annexed to our dependent on any Province whose Seat of Government is those of Pennsylvania or Virginia four or five hundred miles distant and Separated by a vast, extensive & almost impassable Tract of Mountains by Nature itself formed & pointed out as a boundary between this Country & those below it, that Justice might be both Tedious & Expensive, the Execution of the Laws dilatory & perhaps mercenary, if not arbitrary; Redress of Grievances precarious & Slow & the Country so Situated without participating of any of the Advantages, Suffer all the Inconveniences of such a Government & be continually exposed, as we already too well know by Dear bought & fatal experience, to the Violence, Frauds, Depredations, Exactions Oppressions of interested, ambitious, designing, insolent, avaricious, rapacious & mercenary Men & Officers—

"*And pray* that the Said Country be constituted declared & acknowledged a separate, distinct, and independent Province & Government by the Title and under the name of — 'the Province & Government of *Westsylvania*,' be empowered and enabled to form such Laws & Regulations & such a System of Polity & Government as is best adapted & most agreeable to the peculiar Necessities, local Circumstances & Situation thereof & its inhabitants invested with every other power, Right, Privilege & Immunity, vested, or to be vested in the other American Colonies, be considered as a Sister Colony & the fourteenth

Province of the American Confederacy; that its Boundaries be — Beginning at the Eastern Branch of the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Scioto & running thence in a direct Line to the Owasioto Pass, thence to the top of the Allegheny Mountain, thence with top of the said Mountain to the Northern Limits of the Purchase made from the Indians in 1768, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix aforesaid, thence with the said Limits to the Allegheny or Ohio river, and thence down the said River as purchased from the said Indians at the aforesaid Treaty of Fort Stanwix to the Beginning.

“And that for the more effectual Prevention of all future & further Frauds & Impositions being practiced upon us, thereby all Proprietary or other Claims or Grants heretofore, by or to whomsoever made of Lands within the aforesaid Limits of the said province be discountenanced & Suspended to all Intents & Purposes, until approved of & Confirmed by the Legislative Body of the said Province with & under the Approbation & Sanction of the General Congress, or Grand Continental Council of State of the United American Colonies.

“And your Memorialists, as by all the Ties of Duty, Interest & Honor bound as Americans, Brethren & Associates, embarked with you in the Same Arduous and glorious Cause of Liberty & Independency Shall ever Pray that your Councils & Endeavors for the Common Good, may be continually attended, blessed & crowned with a never ceasing & uninterrupted Series of Success, Happiness & Prosperity.”

This document so verbose and quaint in style has the following endorsement: “Memorial to congress for erecting the government of Westsylvania, 1776.” In less than a century after this document was penned the greater portion of the territory it proposed to establish “as the fourteenth province of the American confederacy,” was admitted into the Union as a separate and distinct state under the name of West Virginia.

The proposals contained in the foregoing memorial for the accommodation of the disputes between the counties of Westmoreland, in Pennsylvania, and West Augusta, in Virginia, it would appear, did not represent the unanimous sentiment of the inhabitants of West Augusta, and hence a committee of this latter district as representatives of the conservative portion of its inhabitants in the fall of 1776, drafted the following address and memorial to the house of delegates of the general assembly of Virginia, with the purpose of inducing that body to take such steps as in its wisdom might be deemed best to arrest the contemplated object which that paper had in view. We give it literally and in the form in which it was originally drafted:

"To the Honourable, the Speaker of the lower House of Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia:

"Most humbly sheweth

"That your Memorialists conceiving themselves in some sort the Guardians of the Rights of the People in this Frontier County find themselves under the indispensable necessity of representing to your Honourable House Some matters which they have lately learned.

"A number of designing Persons influenced by motives of Interest & Ambition about the beginning of July last have set on foot a Memorial to the Honourable Continental Congress, praying that a Tract of Country Beginning" (here are inserted the boundaries and description as given in the memorial we have heretofore recited) "might be constituted, declared, & acknowledged a distinct and independent government by the Title of the Government of Westsylvania; and in prosecution of this, their favorite Scheme, the Persons aforesaid have dispersed Advertisements throughout the Country recommending it to the Inhabitants of the different Districts to meet at their respective Places of appointment, to give voice whether they would join in a Petition to Congress for their Interposition in settling the unhappy Disputes which have prevailed in these parts, or whether they should not immediately colonize themselves by their own authority & send their Delegates to Congress to represent them as the fourteenth Link, in the American Chain, the Copies of which said Memorial & Advertisement we now do ourselves the Honour of transmitting to you for the Consideration of your House, your Memorialists humbly beg leave to observe, that in Consequence of the Scheme aforesaid and the Measures taken to effect it, this Frontier Country is divided & distracted by jarring views and Contradictory Opinions concerning public Operations;—the Rigour & Energy of Government & of its wholesome Laws are relaxed and many of the inhabitants instead of consulting the safety of the whole as their only security & Happiness assiduously attach themselves to their own private Views & Interests, regardless of the Obligations of Gratitude for the many great Sums expended by the State of Virginia for their Defence & Protection. Your Memorialists cannot but consider the present Scheme of a new Government as infallibly productive of the same Mischiefs & Disorders which have lately been experienced by the Inhabitants of this Government from the unsettled Limits of the State of Virginia & Pennsylvania, which all good men most sincerely wish to be happily accommodated.

"Your Memorialists therefore humbly pray that your Hon'ble House will take Such Steps in the premises and make Such necessary Regulations, to Insure Union to the Inhabitants in these Times of Public Calamity & obviate the Unhappiness & Difficul-

ties attendant on this wild Scheme of a new Government, as the Wisdom of your Hon'ble House may Suggest to you.

"And your Memorialists as in duty bound will ever pray, etc."

From a letter of Mr. Yeates, written by him from Pittsburgh under date of July 30, 1776, we learn that the Memorial to Congress had been laid aside by its originators and abandoned, and in lieu thereof an advertisement had been published and circulated among the inhabitants of the disputed territory (as is mentioned in the memorial address to the speaker of the house of delegates of Virginia), suggesting "the dividing of the people of the proposed new government into districts and desiring them to choose convention men who are forthwith to meet and appoint delegates to represent them in Congress. How shockingly" he explains in his letter—"Are the people here divided! And to what ridiculous lengths are not most of them hastening?" He proceeds to say—"I cannot procure you the convention boundaries mentioned in my letter, but thus far I am well informed that the temporary line to be established reaches to the Bullock*—Seven miles from hence—the wrong way." Various suggestions were made from time to time for the settlement of the existing difficulties between the inhabitants of the disputed territory, but none of them proved to be acceptable and the question remained an open one.

Among others the following entitled—"A proposal for accommodating the disputes between the counties of West Augusta and Westmoreland until the boundary between them can be settled," was submitted and its acceptance urged:

"1st. That the laws, as far as respects the jurisdiction of the county of West Augusta, be exercised on the south side of the Youghiogheny river, and said river be considered as the boundary between the two counties in respect to the jurisdiction of their respective courts only.

"2d. That the people, claiming under the county of Westmoreland, may continue to be represented at their capitol as usual and have liberty to choose their representatives and all others officers of government, only their sheriffs, magistrates, and constables shall not act in their office on the south side of said river; *provided*, always that nothing herein contained shall tend to invalidate any judgment in the courts held heretofore for Westmoreland, but when a boundary is run they may execute such judgments on their side of the said boundary, anything herein to the contrary notwithstanding.

"3d. That the inhabitants on the south side of the Youghiogheny and east of the Monongahela river as far as the Great Line shall not pay taxes to either government until said boundary is

* The Bullock so styled is now Wilkinsburgh.

settled and all persons associated in the militia are to serve under the government they associated under. If the proposals shall meet the approbation of the public, the people for West Augusta shall meet at Mr. Martin Kemp's on the second Tuesday in November next, and those claiming under Westmoreland at Mr. Edward Cook's the same day to choose six men to be their trustees to negotiate and confirm the above proposals." This paper was signed, "By friends to both Governments," and bore date of October 18, 1776.

Thus it will be perceived that there was not wanting any effort on the part of conservative inhabitants to settle their vexatious disputes, and to adjust in an amicable manner the question at issue among them. The great drama of the revolution had opened, and it was important that all sections of the country should be united and present a firm and unbroken front. The inhabitants of the disputed territory were not slow to realize this necessity, and they tacitly and very naturally subordinated their local issues to the more important, greater and more pressing issue of national independence, never, however, losing sight of the former, to which they clung with stubborn tenacity, but never allowing their sectional prejudices and feelings to interfere with their duty to the whole country. Thus while all attempts at adjustment among themselves for the time being proved to be abortive, yet with commendable zeal and forbearing grace they were united in a common desire and common effort to throw off the yoke of foreign power and influence in the inspiring prospect of securing national autonomy and independence.

The inhabitants of these western wilds were a loyal and devoted people, else they would not have insisted so strenuously and persevered with such persistence for what they deemed to be their rights and privileges in that portion of the country in which they were more directly and individually interested. Their loyalty and devotion they thus demonstrated was not bounded by an insignificant section of the country as compared in territorial extent with the whole, but the common interests of the whole prompted them to give their labors and services to the promotion of the general weal, and the advancement of the common welfare. Inured to privations and hardships from their earliest years, these sturdy pioneers were not deterred by the fear of danger, nor thwarted in their purpose by the appearance of difficulties. Their lives and pursuits had bred in them sternness of purpose and decision of character, while at the same time there was implanted in their bosoms the principles of a noble generosity and an open-hearted and frank hospitality. Hence they suffered not their individual interests and personal preferences to weigh in the scales against the great boon of national freedom, which the

colonies were now seeking to secure, but they boldly entered the lists of battle with a chivalrous and praiseworthy determination to bend all their energies toward the accomplishment of so desirable an end.

The importance of this question of territorial rights may be estimated from the fact that notwithstanding the stirring events of the times, and the consequent agitations and excitements of the period, the Virginia legislature felt it incumbent to take some decided action inviting a settlement of the question by the establishment of a boundary line between the two colonies. Hence, on the 20th of May, 1779, the house of delegates of Virginia, passed a resolution which was agreed to by the senate on the day following the passage of it by the house, appointing commissioners to settle the disputed boundary line between the two colonies. In June following the general assembly passed a resolution declaring "that three commissioners ought to be appointed to adjust the boundary between Virginia and Pennsylvania, whose proceedings were to be ratified or disagreed to by the general assembly." In accordance with this resolution, James Madison, Robert Andrews and Thomas Lewis were appointed commissioners on behalf of the state of Virginia. Pennsylvania also having taken legislative action, appointed as commissioners on her part, George Bryan, John Ewing and David Rittenhouse.

The first meeting of the commissioners was held in the city of Baltimore on the 27th day of August, 1779. Thomas Lewis, one of the commissioners from Virginia, was not present at this meeting. Upon assembling, the commissioners present from Virginia, proposed that the commissioners from Pennsylvania should state their claim in writing so that the same might be specific and definite in its demands, to which proposition these latter acceded. Accordingly the Pennsylvania commissioners lost no time in submitting the same, as on the day following they addressed a letter to the Virginia commissioners setting forth *in extenso* the nature of their claim, the grounds upon which they based it, and the conclusions to which they had arrived. Their views were not acceptable to the Virginia commissioners, and they replied to the Pennsylvania commissioners to that effect. This was followed by several propositions and counter-propositions from each side, none of which were favorably received, and hence, they were severally rejected. The indications for a time were that no arrangement that would prove acceptable to either could be arrived at, as the claims of neither seemed to be reconcilable.

The individuals composing these respective commissions were sincere as well as earnest in their desire to arrive at a fair

and reasonable conclusion of the matter which had been submitted to them in a satisfactory manner, but each side was just as anxious as the other, at the same time, to protect the interests of the respective states represented by them.

After some time had been consumed unsuccessfully in their efforts to arrive at an adjustment of their conflicting views and opinions, the Virginia commissioners finally offered as a compromise the following: "To continue Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the river Delaware, for your southern boundary, and will agree that a meridian drawn from the western extremity of this line to your northern limit shall be the western boundary of Pennsylvania." Hence, on the 31st day of August, 1779, this proposition, on the part of the Virginia commissioners, was accepted on the part of those representing Pennsylvania, and an agreement to that effect was duly entered into by the commissioners of the two states. On the 23d of June, 1780, the agreement thus entered into was ratified and confirmed by the general assembly of Virginia, "on condition that the private property and rights of all persons acquired under, founded on, or recognized by, the laws of either country, previous to the date thereof, be saved and confirmed to them, although they should be found to fall within the other; and that in decision of disputes thereupon, preferences shall be given to the elder or prior right, whichever of the said states the same shall have been acquired under; such persons paying to that state, within whose boundary their lands shall be included, the same purchase or consideration money which would have been due from them to the state under which they claimed the right; and when any such purchase or consideration money hath, since the Declaration of American Independence, been received by either state for lands which, according to the before recited agreement, shall fall within the territory of the other, the same shall be reciprocally refunded and repaid. And that the inhabitants of the disputed territory, now ceded to the state of Pennsylvania, shall not, before the first day of December, in the present year, be subject to the payment of any tax, nor at any time to the payment of arrears of taxes, or impositions heretofore laid, by either state." At the same time the governor was empowered with the advice of the council, to appoint two commissioners on behalf of Virginia, in conjunction with commissioners to be appointed by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to extend Mason and Dixon's line five degrees of longitude from Delaware river and from the western termination of the same to run and mark a meridian line to the Ohio river; which was as far as it could be run at the time without fear of giving offense to the Indians.

On the 23d of September, 1780, the general assembly of Pennsylvania also ratified and confirmed an agreement entered into between the commissioners of the two states, at the date heretofore mentioned, and empowered the president and council of the state to appoint two commissioners to act in conjunction with the commissioners to be appointed on the part of the state of Virginia. Thus, this disturbing element which had caused such intense strife and bitterness between the two states, was forever eliminated from all future controversies, should such unfortunately ever arise between them.



CHAPTER IV.

BY JUDGE G. L. CRANMER.

THE ERECTION OF FORT HENRY—THE DISTURBED CONDITION OF THE BORDER—COUNCIL AT CATFISH—CAPTAINS OGLE AND MEASON AMBUSHED—THE FIRST SIEGE OF FORT HENRY—COL. SWEARINGEN'S RELIEF—AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN OGLE—MC CULLOUGH'S FAMOUS LEAP—THE MASSACRE OF COL. FOREMAN AND HIS MEN—THE TORIES—JOHN SPAHR—INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS—EXPEDITION TO THE MUSKINGUM—THREATENED ATTACK ON FORT HENRY IN 1781—PRAYING INDIANS—CRAWFORD'S EXPEDITION—LETTERS OF DAVIES, HARRISON AND IRVINE—THE FATE OF MAJOR SAM MCCULLOUGH—INDIAN COUNCIL AT CHILLICOTHE—THE SIEGE OF FORT HENRY, 1782—POWDER EXPLOIT—FRANCIS DUKE—LETTERS OF JAMES MARSHALL AND EBENEZER ZANE—ROLL OF HONOR.



THE beginning of the year 1774 the only regular forts on the frontier were those which were located at Pittsburg and Redstone. There were a few private forts and block houses scattered at different points along and near the borders, but these were insecure and indifferent in their importance and construction, and were not calculated to withstand a prolonged siege or contest, being intended as a temporary shelter in case of attack when taken by surprise. Hence, when it became evident in the spring of the last named year that an Indian war was threatened, and from indications that it would be speedily inaugurated, Dr. John Connolly, the royal captain commandant of West Augusta, who at the time was at Fort Pitt, sent information to the settlement at Wheeling, and instructed the inhabitants as a necessary precaution to cover the country with scouts, until the settlers could fortify themselves. Acting upon his advice scouts and rangers were sent out in all directions covering the adjacent country, with instructions to keep a strict watch upon the movements of the savages, and to promptly report any movements on their part looking toward an advance to Wheeling. In the meantime the settlers and land jobbers at once set to work to erect a place of defense, consisting of a strong stockade, and labored with indefatigable energy in the accomplishment of their undertaking. The author of the plan for the

construction of the same was Major Angus McDonald, and not Col. George Rogers Clarke, as stated by many writers, and this is proven from the correspondence which transpired with Valentine Crawford and Gen. Washington between the dates of the 27th of July and October 1, 1774, inclusive. The last of these letters is dated at "Fort Fincastle, October 1st, 1774."

The fort was erected under the immediate direction and supervision of Col. Ebenezer Zane and John Caldwell. Upon its completion it was named "Fort Fincastle," this being the second title of the Earl of Dunmore, whose titles were "John, Earl of Dunmore, Viscount Fincastle, Baron Murray of Blair, of Moulin, and of Tillimet." But this name was not retained by it for any great length of time, as in the year 1776 it was changed to Fort Henry in honor of Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia at the time. The first mention we find made of this fort is in the report of a committee appointed by the convention, made on the 25th day of July, 1775, recommending that "two companies of 100 men each, besides officers, ought, with all convenient speed, to be stationed at Pittsburgh, one other company of 100 men at Point Pleasant, twenty-five men at Fort Fincastle at the mouth of Wheeling, and that 100 men be stationed at proper posts in the county of Fincastle, for the protection of the inhabitants on the southwestern frontiers, exclusive of the troops to be raised for the defense of the lower parts of the country." In the subsequent year (1776) the convention ordered the garrison to be increased to fifty men at Wheeling; but neither of these orders so far as Wheeling was concerned, we think, were ever complied with. The fact is, that with the exception of the forts located at Redstone, Pittsburgh and Point Pleasant, which latter was erected in the summer of the same year with the fort at Wheeling, there was no regularly garrisoned forts on the frontier. The defense of the fort at Wheeling, with one or two exceptions, was left to the settlers, who, under Providence, always proved themselves competent in the faithful discharge of that responsibility.

The fort which was erected, though hurriedly built, was one of the most substantial and complete defenses of its kind in the entire western region. It was in shape a parallelogram, in length about 150 feet, in its greatest length being parallel with the Ohio river and was about seventy-five feet in width, bastions at each corner, the upper story of which projected a few feet over the lower. On its western side, in close proximity to each other, were ranged a number of cabins intended for the shelter of families which might seek the protection of the fort. The commandant's house, store house, magazine and corral for cattle, occupied the center of the open space within. The first named house was two stories in height, the upper story of which projected over the lower. On

the roof of the house was placed a mounted swivel—a four pounder—which did effective work on the different occasions when the fort was besieged by the savages. Wells were also sunk within the enclosure so that a supply of water could be obtained at all times. The entire space was enclosed with oaken pickets twelve or fifteen feet high placed close to each other with a small opening between each. The fort was located on a bluff overlooking the river, and from its elevated position an extended view was had to the south to where Wheeling creek empties into the Ohio river. It stood near the northwest corner of the intersection of Eleventh and Main streets, and occupied the site formerly known as “Zane’s Reserve.” The declivities on the southern and western sides were steep and almost precipitous—that on the south overlooking a level tract which stretched away in the distance to the banks of the creek. This level tract in the year 1777, at the time of the first siege, was covered with meadows and cornfields. As late as the year 1810 it contained no improvements, such as buildings, of any consequence upon it. To the east, and distant about seventy-five yards, stood the double log cabin of Col. Ebenezer Zane, built of rough hewn logs, with a kitchen attached, built of the same material, as was also the outbuildings or quarters for his slaves. There was also a small magazine for powder and other military stores. The whole of the space so occupied was enclosed with strong pickets.

This fort successfully withstood three several attacks or sieges, two of which are rendered memorable by the stubborn resistance of its defenders under the most unpropitious circumstances, and which will stand out on the pages of history for all time among the highest examples of heroic devotion and disinterested bravery, which are recorded in the annals of daring deeds and noble achievements. One of these sieges occurred in the year 1777, one in the year 1781 and the last in 1782. Of each of these it is our purpose to give some account. The year 1777 was a memorable one in the history of the upper Ohio valley. The settlers were accustomed to characterize it as “the bloody year of three sevens.” Along the entire border from Fort Pitt down to the furthest limits of the settlements it was signalized by savage cruelty, bloody massacre and heartless rapine. Among other horrors and in addition to their magnitude and enormity the entire frontier was threatened with serious famine—the wheat was sick and unproductive and the weather was unpropitious for the growth of grain generally, as well as the usual garden products which entered largely into the diet of the settlers. Sicknes, too, prevailed to an alarming extent, consisting of bilious, remittent and intermittent fevers. The whole border was in a state of alarm, anxiety and excitement, and so intense and wide-spread was this feeling that it was deemed expedient to call a council of

war to be held at Catfish Camp in January, 1777. This council assembled and considered measures to be adopted as well as the recommendations in the letters of the executive of Virginia.

"At a council of war held at Catfish Camp in the district of West Augusta, on Tuesday the 28th day of January, Anno Domini, 1777, there were present:

"Yohogania County—Dorsey Pentecost, county lieutenant; John Canon, colonel; Isaac Cox, lieutenant colonel.

"Ohio county—Henry Taylor, major; David Shepherd, county lieutenant; Silas Hedge, colonel; David McClure, lieutenant colonel; Samuel McColloigh, major.

"Monongahela County—Zachariah Morgan, county lieutenant; John Evins, major.

"Captains—John Munn, David Andrew, John Wall, Cornelius Thompson, Gabriel Cox, Michael Rawlings, William Scott, Joseph Ogle, William Price, David Owings, Henry Hoggland, John Pearce Duvall, James Brinton, Vinson Colvin, James Buckhannon, Abner Howell, Charles Crecraft, John Mitchell, Joseph Tumblenson, Benjamin Frye, Matthew Richey, Samuel Meason, Jacob Lifter, Peter Reasoner, James Rogers, John Hoggland, Reason Virgan, William Harrod, David Williamson, Joseph Cisnesy, Charles Martin, Owen Daviss.

"Colonel Dorsey Pentecost was unanimously chosen president of this council, whereupon Col. Morgan and Col. Shepherd conducted him to his seat. Col. David McClure was unanimously chosen clerk. The president informed the council of the importance of the business for which he had convened them, and concluded with recommending deliberation on their councils, decency and decorum in their debates, and then produced two letters from his excellency the governor, dated the 9th and 13th of December last, signifying the necessity of a speedy and vigorous exertion of the militia and putting them in a proper state of defense, etc. Upon motion made,

"*Resolved*, That Colonels Dorsey Pentecost, Shepherd, Morgan, Cannon, Captain Ritchey, Col. McClure, Maj. Evins, Captain Mitchel and Captain Martin, be appointed a select council to consider of the before-mentioned letters, and make their report to this council, to be then re-considered."

WILLIAMSBURGH, December 18, 1776.

SIR:—The more I consider of things in your quarter the more I am convinced of the necessity there is to prepare for hostilities in the spring, and although continental troops will be stationed in Ohio, yet the militia must be the last great resource from which yours is derived. In order to form something resembling magazines, for the present I have ordered about six tons of lead for West Augusta, and that this article may be deposited in the proper places, I wish you to summon a council of field officers

and captains, and take their opinions which places are the fittest for magazines in the three counties of Yohogania, Monongahela and Ohio, and transmit the result to me. I wish you would please to find out where Capt. Gibson's cargo of powder is and let me know. In the council of officers I would desire it would be considered whether the militia with you want any article the government can furnish and what it is, for be assured it will give me great pleasure to contribute to your safety. I am of opinion that unless your people wisely improve the winter you may probably be destroyed. Prepare then to make resistance while you have time. I hope by your vigorous exertions your frontier may be defended, and if necessity shall require, some assistance be afforded to combat our European enemies, I have great expectations from the number and known courage of your militia, and if you are not wanting in foresight and preparation they will do great things. Let a plan of defense be fixed and settled beforehand—I mean principally the places of rendezvous and the officers who are to act, as well as to provide speedy and certain intelligence. Let the arms be kept in constant repair and readiness, and the accoutrements properly fixed. It will be proper to send out scouts and trusty spies towards the enemies' country to bring you accounts of their movements. I wish great care may be used in the nomination of military officers with you, as so much depends on a proper appointment. You will please to give strict attention to the great object here recommended to you and I shall be happy to hear of the safety of your people, whose protection the government will omit nothing to accomplish.

I am Sir, Your Most Obedient Servant,

P. HENRY, JR.

COLO. DORSEY PENTECOST.

WILLIAMSBURGH, February 28, 1777.

SIR:— You are forthwith to send 100 men properly officered, in order to escort safely to Pittsburgh the powder purchased by Capt. Gibson. I suppose it is at Fort Louis on the Mississippi, under the protection of the Spanish government. The canoes necessary for the voyage, the provisions, and every other matter must be provided and the officers' orders must be to lose not a moment in getting the powder to Fort Pitt. If the present garrison leave that fortress, you are to order 200 militia to guard it till further orders; let all necessary repairs be forthwith done that it may be put in a good posture of defense. I've ordered four four-pound cannon to be cast for strengthening it, as I believe an attack will be made there ere long. Let the ammunition lead included be stored there, and let it be defended to the last extremity—give it not up but with the lives of yourself and people. Let the provisions be stored there, and consider it the bulwark of your country. No militia shall be paid but those on

actual duty. I wonder any one should think otherwise. Let me know the quantity of ammunition and stores at Pittsburgh; upon any alarm of dangerous invasion take care to defend Pittsburgh. Capt. Lynn has a good boat capable of bringing the powder.

I am sir, Your Hble. servant,

P. HENRY, JUNR.

County Lieutenant of Monongahela.

"The council adjourned until to-morrow at 10 o'clock."

"January 29th, 1777 — present as yesterday. — The council met according to adjournment, and Col. Isaac Cox was unanimously chosen vice president. Col. Pentecost from the select council delivered the following resolutions, which he read in his place, then handed them to the clerk's table where they were read a second time, and

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of your committee, that the following are proper places for magazines in the district of West Augusta (vizt) the house of Gabriel Cox, in the county of Yohogania, the house of John Swearingen, in the county of Monongahela and the house of David Shepherd, in the county of Ohio, and that the six tons of lead to be sent to this district mentioned in his excellency's letter of the 13th of December last, addressed to Col. Pentecost, be divided in the following manner, and deposited at the before mentioned places (vizt) for Yohogania county, $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons, for Monongahela county, $2\frac{1}{4}$ tons, and for the Ohio county, $1\frac{1}{4}$ tons, being (as this committee conceives) as equal a division of the said lead and other ammunition that may be sent to this district, according to the number of people in each county, as may be.

"Resolved, That his excellency, the governor, be requested to send with all convenient expedition, powder equivalent to the before mentioned lead, which agreeable to the rifle use, is one pound of powder to two pounds of lead, with ten thousand flints.

"Resolved, That in consequence of his excellency's requisition, that it is highly necessary and it is accordingly strongly recommended to Col. Pentecost, to send a captain and fifty men down the Ohio to find out, if possible, where Capt. Gibson's cargo of powder is, and conduct it up to the settlements, and that it is the opinion of this council that the officers and men to be employed in this business, deserve double wages.

"Resolved, As the opinion of your committee, that upon the best information they can at this time collect, that one-third of the militia of this district is without guns, occasioned by so many of the regular troops be furnished guns out of the militia of this district, and that one-half of the remaining part wants repairs.

"Resolved, therefore, That the governor be requested to send up to this district, one thousand guns (these rifles, if possible to

be had, as muskets will by no means be of the same service to defend us against an Indian enemy).

"Resolved, For the purpose of repairing guns, making tomahawks, scalping knives, etc., that the proper persons ought to be employed in each county, at the public expense, and that Thomas and William Parkeson be appointed in the county of Yohogania, and that they immediately open shops at their house on the Monongahela river for the above purpose, and that they make with all possible expedition all the rifle guns they can, and a sufficient number of tomahawks and scalping knives, etc., and that the county lieutenants receive or direct the distribution thereof.

"Resolved, That Robert Cunie be employed for the above purpose in the Monongahela county, and that he open shop at his own dwelling house in the forks at Cheat.

"Resolved, That Thomas Jones (or some other proper person to be appointed by the county lieutenant) be appointed for the above purpose in the Ohio county, to open shop at the house of Col. Shepherd.

"Your committee maturely and deliberately considered the truly critical and distressed situation of the county, and with the deepest anxiety had viewed the very recent cruel depredations committed on our people by our relentless neighbors, the Indians, and with the utmost regard have considered his excellency's recommendation to prepare for hostilities in the spring and to prepare to make defense while we have time, and to form a plan of defense for the county, are of opinion that if no field officer appear to take the command of the troops now raised and raising in this district, at the next meeting of the different committees, that the said committee forthwith order the said troops to such place on the frontier as they shall think proper for the present protection of the inhabitants, and at least 100 of said troops be ordered to Grave Creek Fort, and in case the said troops are not stationed as aforesaid, then the county lieutenant, of Yohogania county, is to order a lieutenant and twenty-five men to Baker's Fort, and a lieutenant and twenty-five men to Isaac Coxe's, on the Ohio, and that the county lieutenant, of Ohio county, order a lieutenant and twenty-five men to Beach Bottom, and a lieutenant and twenty-five men to Grave Creek Fort, and that the county lieutenant of Monongahela county, order a captain and fifty men to be stationed at the house of Captain Owin Daviss and the head of Dunkard Creek, and a lieutenant and twenty-five men to Grave Creek, to augment garrison to fifty men. Those men to be ordered at such time as the county lieutenant shall think proper and the exigency of the times require

* * * and that militia be drafted, officered (and held

in constant readiness) to rendezvous at the following places and in the following manner." Here is mentioned the active officers, the place of rendezvous in each county, which are the places of the magazines, the drafts and who heads them from each company, which is fifteen privates, one sergeant and a commissioned officer, making in the whole about 1,100 men.

"*Resolved*, Unanimously, that upon the first hostilities being committed on our settlements, that the county lieutenant, in whose county the same may happen, immediately call a council of the three counties as proper measures may be pursued for the chastisement of the cruel perpetrators.

"Agreed to in full council,

"DAVID MCCLURE, clerk."

In the early part of the month of April, 1777, Col. George Morgan, Indian agent for the middle department, wrote to Col. William Crawford from Fort Pitt, as follows:

"Last Monday a messenger arrived from the Delaware town and informed me that a party of Mingos were out and it was supposed would divide themselves into two parties and strike nearly at the same time between this place and Yellow creek. Yesterday afternoon an express arrived from Capt. Steel, by which we learn that the first mentioned party had divided, as supposed, and killed a man just below Raccoon creek, and burned two cabins, viz.: Muchmore's and Arnot's; the body of the latter was found, his wife and four children are supposed to be burned in the cabin, or carried off prisoners."

The following letter gives another and more detailed account of the affair and the condition which prevailed along the border. The letter is dated:

"FORT PITT, April 22d, 1777.

"HONORABLE SIR:—I have received orders to join his Excellency, Gen. Washington in the Jerseys with this battalion now under my command, which orders I would willingly have obeyed, had not a council of war held at this place (proceedings of which were transmitted to congress by express), resolved that I should remain here until further orders. I am sorry to find the accounts therein contained are likely to prove but too true, and from the late depredations and murders which were committed by the Indians at different places in the neighborhood, it appears to me as if a general eruption was intended. On the 6th and 7th inst. they killed and scalped one man at Raccoon creek, about twenty-five miles from this place; at Muchmore's plantation about forty-five miles down the Ohio, they killed and scalped one man and burnt a woman, and her four children; at Wheeling they killed and scalped one man, the body of whom was much mangled with tomahawks and other instruments suitable for their barbarity; at Dunkard's creek, one of the west branches of the Monongahela

river, they killed and scalped one man and a woman, and took three children; and at each of the above places, they burned houses, killed cattle, hogs, etc. I have taken all possible means for the protection of this country as the nature of my circumstances would afford. I am at a great loss for arms; two-thirds of the battalion have none. Had I been at this post when the accounts of the above cruelties came here, I would have transmitted them immediately to you; being busily engaged in putting the battalion in proper stations for the frontiers, this, together with the bad state of my health, prevented my getting here sooner than the 18th inst.; and finding that no authentic accounts had been transmitted to congress, think it my duty to inform you of the above facts, and that I only await further directions; as I have received no marching orders dated since the council held at this place resolved that I should wait till further orders.

"I am, etc.,

WILLIAM CRAWFORD."

Muchmore had been killed, and it was supposed that his wife and four children had been burned in their cabin. Muchmore's oldest son, Samuel, escaped to tell the fearful story. It was supposed that he was the only survivor.

But a few years ago a letter was found among the papers of Maj. Isaac Craig, who at one period commanded at Fort Pitt, with the following address on the outside: "Mr. Samuel Muchmore at or Nigh Four Pitt at Walnut Bottom beginning at falling Springs Forty Nine Miles beLow Foart Pitt." This letter sheds some light on the fortunes of Mrs. Muchmore and her four children, who were supposed for more than twenty years to have been destroyed in the flames which consumed their cabin. They had evidently been carried prisoners to Canada by the Indians. It is probable that Samuel Muchmore never received the letter. The following is a copy of it *verbatim et literatim*:

"APRIL 29, 1797, At Detroit.

"DEAR SON, After my Kind love to you I Rite to let you Know That I am in the Land of the Living though in a very indefent State of health at present I woold inform you that your Brothers Jonathan and Shed rick Muchmore is dead Long a Go and Reachel your Cister Likewise is dead and your Sister Abbigall is married at mountreal to one Peter Smith a black Smith by trade I woold inform you that if it should Pleas god to give me my health I shall go and See him This Summer and then in the fall have Lade out to come home and see you if it Pleases god to give me my healthe a nouf to undergo the fotage. I think it Little Strange that I never got any Knows from you never sinc I have been hear for I have Rote you a good many the Last I rote you was Last august I would have you rite if an opertunity Presents and Subscribe your letters to Samuel Eddy wich is my husband and in Close it and Rite on the cover to John Askin a

square I have been of Late a good deal troubbled with Rumetesm Pains but I trust in the Lord and I hope I shall get better of them Pray dont fail of Riting to me if I ant hear they will be Convod to me, these oppertunitys will be for the Soldiers coms and goes to Foart Pitt all most weekly and you Can Rite and [send] Your Letters to Foart Pitt to som body to fored them Long the States. Soldiers took Pouson of this Place Last July and Keeps goin and comin often I shall Pleas god Com by the way of Priskili* as there is watter Carrege all the way Only Eleven miles for I am not able to Com by Land I have nothing more to Rite you at Present but trusting God to see you in the fall Early and so I Conclude wishing Kind Loav to you and all friends Remaining at the same time your Long absent mother till death once mary Muchmore but now mary Eddy.

"To Mr. Samuel Muchmore."

A flourishing little village consisting of twenty-five or thirty log cabins, clustered around the fort at Wheeling at this time, where but a few years before the silence of the primeval forest was undisturbed by the voice or tread of civilized man. By toil and labor they had gathered around them some of the rude comforts which serve to make home attractive and pleasant, and had collected their flocks and herds. But this prosperous condition of affairs was soon to be dissipated, their toils and labors rendered abortive, their homes destroyed or consumed by the torch of the incendiary savage, and their flocks and herds slain or driven away by their implacable foes. While aware of the danger resulting from a state of war, and fully aware of the fact that at any day this danger might descend upon them, yet they depended on their scouts to give them timely notice of its approach, and thus forewarn them in time to enable them to secure some, if not the greater portion of their possessions, by removing them into the fort for their security and protection. But on this occasion the vigilance of the scouts had been eluded.

On the night of the 31st of August, Capt. Joseph Ogle, who with a squad of about a dozen men, had for some days been out watching the paths usually followed by the Indians, returned to the fort with the information that they had carefully scanned the adjacent country and that not only had they seen no Indians, but no signs of them had been discovered.

Suspecting that their movements would be watched, the Indians had on reaching the river, divided their numbers into small parties, abandoning the usual paths of travel and followed other lines and thus made their way to the Ohio river, concentrating their forces at or in the vicinity of Boggs' Island, about four miles below Wheeling, where they crossed the river and

* Presque isle, now Erie, Penn.

proceeded to the creek bottoms, below the fort, under the cover of darkness of the night, where they perfected their plans and sought an ambush among the corn and weeds and patiently awaited the dawning of the day. Their army was composed of between 300 and 400 warriors, composed of picked men from the Shawnees, Mingoes, and Wyandots.

Some historians have stated that this army was commanded by the notorious renegade Simon Girty, but this is a mistake, as at this time he was employed by the whites at Fort Pitt, as an Indian interpreter, for which he was well qualified, as he had spent several years among the Senecas, by which he had been held a prisoner. He, in company with McKee and Elliott, deserted from Fort Pitt in March, 1778, and fled to the enemy.* At the time of the attack on Wheeling in 1777, he was at Fort Pitt. The name of the person who commanded the Indians on this occasion is unknown. The Indians had formed two diagonal lines at a considerable distance apart from each other, extending across the point from the river to the creek, inside of which, and about the center, they placed in a conspicuous position where they could be most readily seen, five or six of their number as a decoy. Early in the morning of the 1st of September, as two men were passing along with the object of catching horses, they suddenly discovered the Indians, who were stationed in the center and between the two lines above mentioned. They immediately turned to flee when a shot brought one of them down, while the other was allowed to escape that he might carry the tidings to the fort. When the settlers were made aware of the presence of the Indians, they at once fled to the fort for shelter, abandoning everything in their houses except such articles as they snatched up in their hurried exit, and which they thought might serve them a good purpose in their emergency.

Upon learning that the Indians were few in number, Col. Shepherd, the county lieutenant, ordered Captain Meason with a force of fourteen men, to proceed to the place where they had been seen to drive them away. He had not advanced very far distant from the fort before he came in sight of them, when hurrying his men forward, he ordered them to fire upon them. But no sooner was the order given than shouts and yells arose from the hitherto concealed foe, who immediately arose from their hiding places and closed their lines upon the little band and attempted to surround them and cut off their retreat. Recognizing at a glance the situation and the impossibility of maintaining a conflict which would only result in certain defeat and perhaps death to all of them, Captain Meason ordered his men to flee to the fort. But the order was given too late to

* See Penn. Archives VI., 445; also Heckewelder's Narr., page 170.

make sure their retreat, as they were intercepted by the Indians and nearly all were literally cut to pieces. But they fought with the desperation of those who realized that it was a struggle of life or death, and succumbed only when the hand could no longer grasp the rifle or the merciless tomahawk cleaved with its keen edge into their unresisting skulls. Captain Meason and his sergeant, however, succeeded in passing through the front rank of their foes by successfully dodging and fighting their way, and were in a fair way of making their escape when they were observed by some of the enemy, who pursued and fired at them just as they began to ascend the hill to the fort. The sergeant had received a severe wound which so disabled him as to prevent him from pursuing his way, and from the effects of which he fell bleeding to the ground and was unable to recover himself. While lying here Captain Meason passed in a crippled and wounded condition, and seeing that his captain had no gun, and that he was making slow progress, while his pursuers were but a few feet behind him and rapidly gaining on him, the wounded and dying sergeant called out to him to take his gun which was of no further use to him and to use it to the best advantage, and then calmly surrendered himself to his fate, meeting death with the firmness of a Spartan. Such is the stuff of which heroes are made.

Captain Meason had been twice wounded in the engagement, and was so enfeebled by the loss of blood and faint from fatigue, that several times he was moved in despair to relax all efforts in his attempt to reach the shelter of the fort; yet as often was he impelled to press forward and to make a last effort by rallying again his fast fading powers. He was sensible that there was one savage who had outstripped the others who was fast nearing him and every instant he expected that a blow from his tomahawk would prostrate him. In the excitement of the race he had forgotten that the sergeant's rifle was charged. Inspired with the recollection of the fact, his hope revived afresh, and quick as thought he wheeled about to fire at his pursuer, but found that he was so close, he could not bring his gun to bear upon him. Having greatly the advantage of ground being above him, by reason of its elevation, he put his hand against the person of the Indian and thrust him back. The uplifted tomahawk which this latter held in his hand, and which was about to descend with fatal aim on the head of Meason, by this action of the latter descended with swift force to the ground and confused the Indian, and before he was able to regain his footing so as to hurl the fatal weapon which he still held in his grasp at the devoted head of Meason, or rush forward to close in a death struggle with him, a ball from Captain Meason's gun sped on its death-winged errand, and the savage fell lifeless.

The excitement through which he had just passed, and the suffering he experienced from his wound, had rendered the gallant captain well-nigh helpless, and consequently he was so overcome as to be able to proceed but a few paces further and to reach a fallen tree which invited him to a friendly shelter beneath its protecting body. Here he concealed himself and remained during the entire period that the siege of the fort continued. The cries and shrieks of Capt. Meason's men, and the rapid discharge of the guns induced the commandant of the fort to send out an additional force to the support of Capt. Meason, who it was justly feared had fallen into an ambuscade. Hence, Capt. Ogle, at the head of his twelve scouts, undertook the hazardous risk of going to his relief. The Indians anticipating some such a movement on the part of the whites, had skillfully arranged their plans to receive them by entrapping them in their toils. The Indians, who were lying in ambush, patiently awaited until the scouts had so far penetrated within their lines as to render their escape by retreat improbable, when they closed their lines around them so as to confine them within a circle. Capt. Ogle, who was a considerable distance in the rear of his men, was left outside the circle. Seeing the position in which his men were placed, and his own isolated condition which was exceedingly dangerous, he concealed his person in some briars in the corner of a stake and rider fence, where he remained until the following day. The same fate awaited his men which had befallen Capt. Meason's with the exception of two who succeeded in reaching the fort, one of whom was severely wounded. Martin Wetzel, the brother of the famous Lewis Wetzel, the noted Indian spy and hunter, himself scarcely less noted in early annals than his brother, was the only one of the number who escaped unhurt. Young Shepherd, the son of the county lieutenant, Col. David Shepherd, who had accompanied Capt. Meason, was pounded to death by a club which was wielded by a stalwart warrior. Of twenty-six men led out from the fort by these two officers only three escaped death, and two of these were badly wounded, a striking evidence of the fact that the ambuscade was judiciously planned, and that the expectations of its success were well founded as the sequel proved.

While these events were transpiring the inhabitants of the village were busily engaged in removing to the fort and making the necessary preparations for its defense. The disaster which had overtaken the force of Meason and Ogle convinced them of the overwhelming force of the enemy and the futility of attempting to maintain an open conflict with them. And so sudden had been the occurrences here narrated, that the gates of the fort were scarcely closed before the entire Indian army appeared before it, rending the air with frantic yells of sickening horror,

while they flourished the bloody and reeking scalps of the brave men whom they had just slaughtered. But before the assault was made the attention of the garrison was attracted by a demand made for its surrender by the leader of the savage force. This individual was a white man, but his name we have been unable to discover, and perhaps it never will be known, having passed into the shades of a merited oblivion. He appeared at the end window of a house situated at a short distance from the fort, under a flag of truce, and informed them that his appearance there with so large a force was because he had come to act as an escort to Detroit to such of the inhabitants on the frontier as were willing to accept the terms of unconditional pardon offered by Gov. Hamilton, and to such as would renounce the cause of the colonies and attach themselves to the crown; urging them to consider the fealty which they owed to their sovereign, and assuring them of protection if they would yield and accept his proposals, and denouncing upon them at the same time all the frightful woes which would spring from the uncurbed indulgence of savage vengeance if allowed to be visited upon them in the event that they dared to resist or fire one gun to the annoyance of his men. He then proceeded to read to them the proclamation of Gov. Hamilton and formally demanded the immediate surrender of the fort, and gave them fifteen minutes in which to accept or reject his proposition. It was time enough which was thus afforded them, to arrive at a decision. In love with liberty, patriotic in all their impulses, and ready and willing to sacrifice their lives if need be in the maintenance of their principles and the defense of their families, it required but a brief time to deliberate upon their course of action.

Col. Zane replied to the leader—"that they had consulted their wives and children, and that the unanimous conclusion arrived at was that they would all perish, sooner than put themselves under the protection of an army of savages marching under a British flag, or abjure the cause of liberty and the colonies." The leader of the Indian army was about to reply when a young man in the fort shot at the color bearer of the British ensign, which at once put a stop to further parley. There were in the fort at the time nearly 100 women and children all told, while there was but a handful of men to oppose the force of besiegers, and to defend the place from assault. How were they, with their limited number, to withstand the shock of battle against nearly 400 warriors, drunk with excitement over the blood which they had already shed and the successes which they had already met? The reply of Col. Zane to the demand for surrender was not made in the spirit of bravado, but he meant just what he said as the subsequent conduct and behavior of the besieged amply proved. Maddened at the reply and the show of resistance

which was made, the Indians in frenzied fury rushed against the palisades in their vain attempts to make a breach, only to be shot down or driven back. Again and again they renewed their fierce efforts to carry the place by storm and as often were they forced to retire before the well directed shots which played havoc in their midst. Enraged by the opposition they met with they gathered piles of hay, straw, and branches of trees, piling them against the stockade in such places as they could reach and firing these piles, thus attempted to reduce it. But no sooner were the fires lighted than they were quenched by the vigilance of those within, thus foiling all their efforts to destroy it by flames. While the men stood to their guns repulsing the enemy, the women were busily engaged in moulding bullets, loading the surplus guns and handing them to the men, who were thus enabled to keep up a continued fire, or in supplying the men with food and drink, as the siege continued for twenty-four hours with but brief periods of cessation or abatement — that is to say, from sunrise on the morning of September 1 to sunrise on the morning of September 2, when the siege was raised, and the savages marched away, carrying away with them a large amount of plunder.

During the time mentioned all were actively and energetically engaged within the fort in industrious efforts to protect it and themselves from the fury of the assailants. Every individual had a particular duty to perform, and each promptly and faithfully performed it. In this respect, the courage and alacrity of the women were prominent, as many of the more expert among them, stationed themselves beside the men at the loopholes, handling their guns with soldier-like ability, proving themselves in many instances to be excellent shots, and behaving themselves with fearless intrepidity. It seemed indeed as if each individual realized and was sensible that the safety of the whole depended on his or her lone exertions, and that the slightest relaxation of an effort on the part of the individual would involve them all in one common ruin. Upon raising the siege, after the savages found that they could make no impression on the fort, their demoniac fury found vent in killing the cattle, firing the cabins, and ruthlessly destroying everything except what they carried away with them on their retreat.

Thus the settlers were left in an almost destitute condition. The alarm of the presence of the Indians in force having been given so unexpectedly, and the attack on the fort following so soon, but little time had been afforded the inmates for securing but the smallest amount of their removable property; hence they had barely time to take with them the necessary clothing for their comfort and convenience, and some not even so much as that. Few were left to the enjoyment of a bed, and the neces-

sary bedding for the same, as this had been devoured by the angry flames which had been enkindled by their foes. The cattle having been killed or driven away, they were deprived of the gratification of even the humble repast of bread and milk. But with that large hearted and generous hospitality which characterized the pioneer, each shared with the other their limited provisions which the one was more fortunate in possessing than their neighbor. But their needs and wants were not long unsupplied, for in the course of a day or two, these were met by an ample contribution of provisions from the neighboring forts and block houses.

During this siege, the cabin of Col. Ebenezer Zane, which stood on a line with, and but a short distance from, the fort, was consumed by the conflagration started by the savages. When the alarm was given that the enemy was approaching, deeming the shelter of the fort more secure, he, with his family had abandoned his cabin and taken refuge in the former. When he saw that his cabin was doomed to the flames, and it and his household goods were destroyed by the devastating element, he then declared that he would rebuild it, and if again attacked that he would never desert it, but defend to the last extremity. We shall see hereafter how well and nobly he fulfilled this promise at the siege of the fort in the year 1782.

Some time prior to this attack, the governor of the state had sent to Col. Andrew Swearingen a quantity of ammunition for the defense of the settlers in the country above Wheeling. By his exertions and under his direction and superintendence the forts known as Bolling's and Holliday's were repaired and put in defensible condition, and to the latter a strong and ample magazine had been erected where the powder and other ammunition sent by the governor was stored for use. Holliday's fort was situated about twenty-four miles above Wheeling, and was a shelter for the families living in that section. About the time of the attack on the fort at Wheeling, news had been sent to Shepherd's fort, about six miles from Wheeling, of the presence of the Indians. A runner was at once dispatched to Holliday's fort for succor and Col. Swearingen with a force of fourteen or fifteen men, at once responded, taking with them a quantity of ammunition. They embarked in a large and commodious canoe, and worked industriously so as to reach the besieged in time to be of service to them. The men composing the expedition had all volunteered for the occasion, and notwithstanding the fact that rumors prevailed that an attack on their own fort, in which at the time, the settlers had gathered in anticipation of it, was contemplated, yet animated with a noble and disinterested resolve, they determined to succor their unfortunate brethren, whose danger was not only imminent, but was already impending. Departing

under the cover of night, on the dark waters of the river rested an almost impenetrable fog which involved the undertaking in great uncertainty and danger. But they toiled and labored, although their disadvantages were great, often striking against the banks, running on the heads of islands or coming in contact with projecting snags and the overhanging branches of trees, until at length they were compelled to desist from paddling and allow it to float with the current. And this was a wise conclusion, for under the heavy cover of the mist, they might unknowingly pass by Wheeling and then be compelled to stem the current to reach their destination. As they floated lazily with the current, they at length beheld the light which proceeded from the burning of the cabin at Wheeling.

The day was now beginning to dawn and it was impossible for them to reach the fort before it fully broke. Could they have realized their expectation of arriving at their destination before the breaking of the day, they might and doubtless could have gained admission into the fort from the postern gate on the west or river side of the fort, but fearing discovery by the vigilance of the Indians, they landed about the present site of what is now known as the "top mill," and sent out some of the men to reconnoitre and if possible to ascertain the condition of affairs. The smoke and fog prevailing at the time prevented them from knowing whether the entire village, including the fort, had fallen a prey to the flames. When arrived there it was uncertain whether the Indians had retreated or lay concealed and in ambush in the cornfields and among the weeds with a view of attacking such as might come out of, or attempt to enter, the fort. The men who had been sent out as scouts feared to give the signal to the party who remained behind and which had been agreed upon, by firing a gun to assure them that it was safe to advance lest it might excite the Indians and thus lead them to fall upon the party and destroy its members. To allay this apprehension three of the party, Col. Swearingen, Capt. Bilderbock and William Boshears, determined to make the effort to reach the fort. Proceeding separately, each taking a different route, they cautiously inspected the neighborhood and the three safely reached the fort at about the same time, having discovered no signs of the presence of Indians. Returning to their companions they then escorted them to the fort. But it might be that the Indians were lying in ambush in the cornfields and it was important to ascertain whether this was or was not the case. Hence, a consultation was held between Col. Zane, Col. Shepherd, Col. Swearingen and Dr. McMechen, which resulted in sending out two men who volunteered for the purpose, who in an apparently careless and indifferent manner were to saunter along the line of the cornfield nearest to the fort to examine it

and see whether indications of the presence of Indians could be discovered. This duty they performed and reported that there were none such, whereupon Col. Zane, taking a force of twenty men, marched around the field at some distance from it and returning passed more nearly and assured themselves that the Indians had certainly retreated from the vicinity and no further danger for the time being was to be apprehended. In addition to the corpses of the twenty-three men, who the preceding morning under the command of Captains Meason and Ogle had gone out from the fort buoyant with health and strength and life and who had been so barbarously slain, it is said that there were found over three hundred head of cattle, horses and hogs lying in scattered heaps about the field which the savage foe had wantonly butchered and destroyed. It will not, we deem, be inappropriate in passing to give a brief notice of Capt. Ogle, one of the pioneer heroes of the upper Ohio valley.

After a bold and adventurous career as an Indian fighter in this section, he, in the year 1785, emigrated to the Illinois territory, where he maintained the same reputation that he had earned in western Virginia, during the succeeding ten years of border troubles which prevailed in that territory. He died honored and beloved at the venerable age of eighty years, on the 24th of February, 1821, leaving a large circle of descendants to mourn his death and to cherish his memory. He was a man of uncommon firmness of character, possessing great energy of body and mind, and an uncompromising friend to liberty and human rights. He was a slaveholder, and carried his slaves with him when he removed to the Illinois territory, where he manumitted them, thereby sacrificing the most of his property which was invested in these human beings. He was mild, peaceable, and kind-hearted in social intercourse, and always strove to promote peace, harmony and good order. He was strict in the fulfillment of all his engagements and promises, and expected from all his neighbors the same honesty and punctuality. The following anecdote will serve to illustrate his character:

On one occasion a Mr. S—— borrowed from him some house logs to finish a cabin which he was erecting, promising to return an equal number on a certain date named by him. The date for the return had passed and the logs were not forthcoming according to promise. Capt. Ogle had arranged to raise a cabin for himself on a day after that on which the logs were to have been returned to him. On this day he set out accompanied with six men to S——'s cabin, upon arriving at which he told the family to remove certain articles which interfered with his purpose, and then proceeded with handspikes to the utter amazement of S—— to coolly and deliberately raise up the corners of the house

and remove the logs. Alarmed and excited S— exclaimed: "Why, Mr. Ogle, what do you mean, do you intend to pull down my house over my head?" "By no means," replied Ogle, "I am only intending to take my own logs." "Now neighbor Ogle," he remarked, "do stop and I will start right off into the woods and get you the logs." "Very well," rejoined Ogle, in the most imperturbable manner, "if you will have the logs at my place to-morrow morning at sunrise, I will forbear, but if you fail to have them at my place to-morrow morning at the hour named, I will return and take my logs." This was said with the utmost coolness and deliberation, and Mr. S— well knew that the word of Capt. Ogle could be depended upon. It is sufficient to say that the logs were forthcoming at the appointed hour.

It was on this occasion that the notable incident occurred which has since become famous, in the history of that brave and distinguished frontiersman—Major Samuel McColloch. As soon as the news, that the fort at Wheeling was besieged by an Indian army, was received at Fort Vanmetre (a fort situated on Short creek, in Ohio county, about eight miles from Wheeling), McColloch, at the head of forty-five well-mounted men, hastened to its relief. The wife of Col. Ebenezer Zane was a sister of McColloch, and thus the ties of affection, combined with the dictates of humanity, prompted him to undertake the hazardous enterprise of succoring the besieged in the hour of their emergency. When the gallant major with his little force arrived within sight of the fort there was a lull prevailing, the Indians for the time being having suspended their attack and drawn off their forces. He was at once recognized by the inmates of the fort and almost at the same time by the savages. The gates of the fort were immediately thrown open for their entrance, and rushing through the lines of the Indians, their horses were put to their mettle and on full gallop they safely reached the protection of the fort without a single man or horse having received a scratch or wound. McColloch, who was more concerned for the success and safety of his men than his individual security, had given them the precedence in his anxiety in their behalf, and as soon as they had entered the gates were closed again so as to prevent the Indians who were pursuing, from gaining ingress. Thus McColloch was separated from his men and left on the outside by his unselfish and disinterested act which prevented him from passing in with his force. The Indians were now closing in around him and what was to be done must be done quickly. Taking in the situation at a glance he lost no time in determining what to do under the circumstances. Suddenly wheeling his horse around in the face of his enemies he dashed through an opening in the ranks of the enemy and striking his spurs deep in his flanks, the noble steed sprang forward while the firm hand of his master di-

rected him to the summit of the eastern hill top, the base of which he started successfully to rise.

The Indians might easily have taken his life while he was making the attempt to enter the fort, but they wanted to capture him alive so as to reserve him for torture at the stake as his very name was a terror to the Indians who were well acquainted with his person, and who, while they admired his courage, hated him with all the intensity of the most vindictive feeling. His well trained steed clambered the declivity with laborious and sure-footed effort, while his enemies with almost superhuman energies followed in swift pursuit on foot. Scrambling up the steep hillside, then covered with trees and undergrowth, he succeeded in reaching the top, and following the ridge in a northerly direction he directed his course toward Fort Vanmetre. He had ridden but a little distance when just in front of and approaching him he discovered a band of warriors who had left the main body early in the morning and were now returning from a marauding expedition in which they had been engaged. Turning his horse's head in the opposite direction, he advanced but a short distance only to discover a force in front of him, who, having reached the top of the ridge were hastening in his direction, while below him he saw another party mounting the hill to cut off his retreat, for on his left or eastern side of the hill was a steep declivity, nearly precipitous which would measure from the summit of the hill nearly if not quite 300 feet. Thus hemmed in on all sides his capture seemed inevitable, and in anticipation of securing him as a prisoner his pursuers set up a yell of triumph. He had but a brief respite to decide as to what should be his course of action. He at once decided to risk the perilous leap down the almost precipitous side of the eastern declivity. Adjusting his trusty rifle and powder horn and tightening his rein, he spoke in encouraging tones to his faithful horse and urged him to the brow of the cliff, far beneath which flowed the waters of Wheeling creek. The rugged and fearful descent seemed to threaten instant death to horse and rider, but a kind Providence watched over both and they reached the foot of the precipice comparatively unhurt and unharmed. A thrill of astonishment went through the breasts of his pursuers at this unwonted exhibition of adventurous daring, and it so completely paralyzed them for a time that they looked on in wonder, shrugging their shoulders and giving vent to their feelings in expressive "ughs."

By the time they had recovered from their surprise the object of their pursuit had forded the creek and was far beyond their reach, and succeeded in safely reaching the fort from which he had departed in the morning. No pen can describe the chagrin and mortification which was experienced by the Indians at this successful escape of one for the possession of whose person they

would have willingly sacrificed the lives of a dozen of their bravest warriors.

A few days after the happening of the above events a company of militia under Captain Foreman, from east of the mountains, arrived at Wheeling for the purpose of extending protection to the settlements in the vicinity of that place, and also to occupy the fort and to render such assistance as might be needed in event of another attack upon it. Parties of Indians still lurked about, watching every favorable opportunity to do mischief. Scouting parties were frequently sent out to prevent their depredations. On the 25th of September, 1777, one of these scouting expeditions, under the command of Captain Foreman, left the fort and went about twelve miles below Wheeling as far as Grave creek, where they encamped for the night. The party consisted of forty-five men. The leader of the party was wholly ignorant of the practices of the Indians and was averse to taking advice or counsel from those who were conversant with them, and whose experience had been bought by years of study of their habits and modes of stratagem and warfare. Large fires were built by order of the captain, who gathered his men closely around them in one compact body, in opposition to the advice of one of the scouts who had accompanied him as a spy, by the name of Lynn, who, however, refused to remain there himself, but who took with him several of the settlers who had joined the expedition, retired to a considerable distance from the fires and spent the night from the main body. Lynn, who was an accomplished woodsman and whose senses were exceedingly acute, rendered so by the character of his pursuit as a scout and ranger, being awake a short time before daylight, thought he heard a noise, which immediately aroused his suspicions. This appeared to him to be produced by the efforts made by persons engaged in the launching of rafts on the river which flowed a short distance from Foreman's camp and just above the position where it was located.

In the morning he expressed his belief that an Indian force was near, stating at the same time the reasons which induced him to come to this conclusion, and at the same time urged the captain to return to Wheeling by a different route than the one by which they had come, that is to say along the hillsides and not along the bottoms. His advice was rejected; but Lynn with the accustomed caution which he had been taught to exercise by long experience and acquired knowledge of Indian tactics, in company with four companions prudently clung to the hillsides while those who belonged to the command of Capt. Foreman continued along the path which was located at the base of the hills. They had arrived at a point on their route where the immense hills on either side descend almost perpendicularly to

the water's edge. Between the base of the hill and the river was a narrow ledge along which they were passing, situated near the head of what is known as the Grave creek narrows. Here one of the soldiers saw a parcel of Indian ornaments lying in the path, and picking them up, the curiosity of others was excited by his example, and he speedily drew around him the larger portion of the company. While thus engaged, crowded carelessly together, and busily engaged in inspecting the trinkets, all of a sudden a galling and fatal fire was opened upon them by a party of Indians who were lying in ambush. The effect of this was to throw them into the greatest confusion, and to so distract them that they lost their presence of mind and were rendered for the time being powerless. The firing was continued with deadly effect for some minutes; and must eventually have caused the loss of the entire party had not Lynn with his comrades bravely rushed from the hillside, at the same time discharging their guns and shouting in such boisterous tones as to lead the Indians to believe that a large reinforcement was at hand, which occasioned them to retreat with the utmost precipitation.

In this fatal ambuscade twenty-one of Capt. Foreman's party were killed, and several severely wounded. Among those slain was the captain and his two sons. It appeared that the Indians had purposely dropped their ornaments rightly conjecturing that they would attract the attention of the whites. They themselves were concealed in two parties, the one party lying to the right of the trail in a sink hole on the bottom, and the other to the left under cover of the river bank. From these advantageous positions they safely fired upon the whites, while they themselves were entirely exempt from danger until the party in the sink-hole was discovered by Lynn and his companions. While the firing of Lynn and those with him is not known to have taken effect, yet to his good conduct and those who were with him is to be attributed the saving of the remnant of the detachment. The Indian force was never ascertained, but it was generally supposed at the time to have been small, perhaps not exceeding twenty or twenty-five warriors. On the ensuing day, the settlers in the neighborhood of Wheeling, under the guidance and direction of Col. Ebenezer Zane, proceeded to the scene of the massacre and gave the bodies of the slain decent sepulture, burying them on the spot where they had fallen.

Some years after this occurrence a plain stone was erected by kindly hands over their resting place, commemorative of the event, on which was the inscription:

THIS
HUMBLE STONE
IS ERECTED
TO THE MEMORY
OF
CAPTAIN FOREMAN
AND
TWENTY-ONE OF HIS MEN,
WHO WERE SLAIN BY A BAND OF
RUTHLESS SAVAGES, THE ALLIES OF A
CIVILIZED NATION OF EUROPE,
ON THE 26TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1777.

"So sleep the brave who sink to rest,
By all their country's wishes bless'd."

A few years since, by an order of the board of supervisors of Marshall county, W. Va., this stone was removed to a cemetery at Moundville, the county seat of that county, and there is nothing now to mark the spot where their bones have mouldered long since into the common dust of mother earth. Thus our familiarity with the scenes and occurrences of early times, and the deeds of daring and heroism of this section of our country, together with the reprehensible pursuit after selfish purposes and emoluments leads the present generation to view with indifference those events in our early history, which are not less interesting, and far more valuable to us as a people, than those spots and historical incidents in the old world over which the American visitor is so apt to indulge in fits of rhapsody.

It is true that the old world is richer in antiquity and in historical lore than the new, but it is not because those of the former are more interesting than those of the latter, but rather because they are farther removed from us both in distance and time, and because her people have been more careful to keep her proud memorials above the surface of the waveless past.

There will come a period in the history of our future when the past will plead with loud-voiced tongue in vain for recognition, and when the awakened conscience of our people will lament that the opportunity is forever past in which to rescue from oblivion the character, the deeds and the daring of the American pioneer. A few years ago a local poet* of no mean ability tuned the chords of his lyre to sing a requiem to the memory of the gallant but unfortunate Foreman and his party, and in his youthful enthusiasm wove this chaplet with which to crown their memories:

"Beneath the shadow of yon frowning steep
The blue Ohio rolled along;
The woods and waves were lulled to sleep
By many a sweet bird's soothing song.
They came, those men of lion hearts;
They came along that pathless shore,
Nor deemed the tomahawks nor darts
Would soon decide their marches o'er.

* Oliver I. Taylor, deceased

As leaps the lightning from the cloud,
As on their prey the tigers spring,
So on them rush'd the savage crowd,
The woods with yells unearthly ring.
An hundred warriors round them stand,
An hundred more rushed down the hill,
To wreak upon that little band,
Their demon wrath and thirst to kill.

Now nerve your hearts, Columbia's sons,
God help you in this fearful hour!
It boots not much that twenty guns,
Oppose such overwhelming power.
Yet still they fought as fight the brave,
Breast unto breast within that glen,
Till one by one they fill'd a grave,
Which now proclaims they died like men.

Not on the squadron cover'd field
Amid the bugle's cheering notes,
Where bulwarks high are strong to shield,
And their proud flag above them floats,
O, not amid war's pageantry
Where pæans of glory rung,
Were those brave soldiers doom'd to die,
They fell all lonely and unsung.

Yet when the scroll shall be unroll'd,
That tells the records of the brave,
Whose names shall be more proudly told
Than theirs who fill this lonely grave?
Whose deeds shall be more glorious then,
Amid their country's loud applause,
Than theirs who in this fameless glen,
Laid down their lives in freedom's cause?"

During the war for our national independence the patriots were compelled not only to meet avowed enemies in the person of Indian foes and British soldiers in the field and in the forest, but also stealthy and secret enemies among their neighbors and professed friends. These latter consisted of such as still adhered to the crown and extended to it their loyalty and allegiance. These were not merely passively disaffected to the cause of the colonies, but in many instances they actively engaged in schemes and undertakings to embarrass the patriots in their operations. To this end they did not hesitate to sacrifice every social tie, and to compromise every social feeling and relation. In some instances they boldly refused to pay taxes for the support of government, and also to serve in the ranks of the militia. In some sections their opposition was carried to such an extent as to blunt every finer and nobler feeling, and in some cases the insurrection had assumed such alarming proportions that it could only be quelled by the strong arm of military force.

Thomas Jefferson in his "Notes on Virginia," defines a tory in the following terms: "A tory has been properly defined to be a traitor in thought, but not in deed. The only description by which the laws have endeavored to come at them was that of

non-jurors or persons refusing to take the oath of fidelity to the state. Persons of this description were at one time subjected to double taxation, and at another to treble, and lastly were allowed retribution and placed on a level with good citizens. It may be mentioned as a proof both of the lenity of our own government and the unanimity of its inhabitants that though this war has now raged near seven years not a single execution for treason has taken place."

This was a correct definition, doubtless, as applied to some localities, but not so as to all — as for instance in the upper Ohio valley, where there were a few who were very actively engaged in carrying out their designs and purposes. One of these was an Englishman by the name of Jackson, who had so exasperated the feelings of the settlers as to cause them to proceed to extreme measures in his case, and his life paid the forfeit of his temerity.

A conspiracy at this time existed which had gathered considerable headway among those who were inclined to British domination, which was obviated by the relenting of one of those engaged in it. The object of the conspirators seems to have been to awe the settlers into submission by the unexpected introduction of a large army composed of Indians and British by destroying the property and taking the lives of the more prominent among them if they should persist in refusing allegiance to the British. This was one of the objects had in view by the army which attacked and attempted to reduce Fort Henry in September, 1777, but which was so signally foiled in its endeavors by the brave defenders of that fort. These malcontents kept up a regular and constant communication with Gov. Hamilton, the representative of the British authority stationed at Detroit. Upon the discovery of the plot the excitement occasioned by its revelation threatened for a time to burst forth in vengeful ire; but the wise counsel of cooler heads succeeded in calming the turbulent passions and awakened prejudices which had been aroused. When we consider the infuriated state into which the feelings of the settlers had been wrought, and the little restraint which at the time was imposed upon the conduct and actions of individuals, it is really a matter of admiration that they did not requite upon the heads of these traitorous wretches the full measure of condign punishment in view of their premeditated wrongs. However, it was determined that they should answer before a military court the charges preferred against them. For this purpose a court was convened by the authorities of the upper Ohio valley, and the country adjacent, which met at Fort Redstone, where three or four of the principal participants in the conspiracy were arraigned to answer for their offenses. Here they experienced a fair and impartial trial, and, after mature deliberation, the court

concluded that as their object in great measure had been defeated by its timely discovery, and as no serious consequences had, or were likely to ensue, that they should go acquit, requiring them, however, before they were discharged, to take the oath of allegiance to the continental congress, and the cause of the colonies, which was readily complied with on their part. In the exercise of the same spirit of fairness which characterized the arrest and trial of the conspirators, those also who were suspected as having aided or abetted in the killing of the chief conspirator, Jackson, were likewise arraigned and tried for the crime of murder, but the evidence of their guilt proving to be insufficient, they also were acquitted and discharged.

About this period there was an individual living on Short creek, in Ohio county, who had made a clearing and erected a cabin on the banks of that stream, who was an open and pronounced tory. He was among the earliest settlers on this stream, having appeared about the year 1770. He planted and raised the first crop of corn in what is now Ohio county. When the news of the outbreak of hostilities between the mother country and the colonies reached him, his surroundings became too warm for him, and he was compelled to abandon his cabin and leave the country and betake himself to a more hospitable region, and continued absent during the entire continuance of the war, returning to his old haunts only after the proclamation of peace between the two countries. Upon his return his convictions, as to the policy of Great Britain toward the colonies and her policy of coercion toward them, were just as strong as they were before he left, and to his dying day he gloried in the name of tory, and on all suitable occasions he did not hesitate, in any company nor under any circumstances, to advocate his views concerning the rights of the mother country which had been so successfully defied by the colonies in the wager of battle. He lived in the same place where he first settled, during the remaining years of his life which were prolonged to the extreme age of one hundred and fifteen years. He died in the early part of the sixties. He was always spoken of as a good neighbor—a firm and faithful friend, and a man of kindly and generous impulses. He died as he had lived—true to his sentiments—an implacable tory. Numerous inducements were held out and unavailing persuasions were employed to induce him to satisfy public curiosity as to where he had spent his time and in what he was employed during the continuance of hostilities, but he invariably refused to gratify his questioners by making any revelation which would throw light upon the enigma, and his secret died with him.

In the interval between the years 1777 and 1780 the Indians had committed many depredations along the frontier as well as in the country more remote, but in the early part of the year

1780, on the first appearance of spring, they became still more active and bold, and commenced anew their hostilities against the whites, pursuing their work of murder, rapine and destruction with renewed energies and in the most merciless and unrelenting spirit. Notwithstanding repeated efforts accompanied with the most flattering promises and urgent persuasions upon the part of the British to secure the alliance of the Delaware tribe of Indians, up to the year 1780, they had failed to induce this tribe to unite with them, but in this last named year they succumbed at length to the influences brought to bear upon them and declared for war.

The British commandant at Detroit had made arrangements to organize an attack upon northwestern Virginia, and had planned a campaign in which the Delawares as a tribe were to co-operate. It had been concerted that a combined force of British and Indians were to carry out the plans adopted. This army was to consist of two divisions of about 150 men each; one division of which was to cross the Ohio in the vicinity of Wheeling, and the other at a point some fifty or sixty miles further up that stream. The ultimate destination of each was Catfish Camp, where the town of Washington, Penn., now stands. The vigilant scouts which were scattered over the country immediately discovered the approach of the party which had crossed in the vicinity of Wheeling, and gave timely alarm to the settlers who at once fled for shelter and protection to the fort at this last named place, they supposing that it would be the object of attack. But in this they were mistaken, as the Indians proceeded on their march in the direction of Catfish, picking up prisoners as they advanced, from whom they learned that the force of the settlements was concentrated at Wheeling, who were well provisioned and fully armed and ready for an encounter. This information had a depressing effect upon them, and apprehensive that a force from Wheeling might intercept them and prevent their escape across the Ohio, a council was called to deliberate on their movements, whether they should advance or retreat. The council concluded that it was advisable for them to retrace their steps and cross the river. Having reached this conclusion, the question arose as to what disposition should be made of their prisoners, of whom they had taken quite a number since entering the country. This they speedily settled by determining to murder them in cold blood. In carrying out this resolution they spared neither sex nor age, perpetrating upon them the most horrid and cruel tortures which the refinement of malignant hearts and savage dispositions could invent.

The perpetration of this wanton cruelty served to arouse to the utmost pitch the anger and indignation of the inhabitants, and preparations were made for at once taking the offensive

against them. Hence, at the instance of Cols. Zane and Shepherd, Col. Brodhead, commander at Fort Pitt, was induced to make preparations for an expedition against the Indian towns on the Muskingum. The different counties were called upon to furnish their respective quota of troops, who were to rendezvous at Fort Henry. The quota of Ohio county consisted of seventy odd men. The date fixed upon for the rendezvous was the 9th day of June, but by reason of a failure to obtain necessary supplies, the expedition was postponed from month to month, and it was not until April, 1781, that they were in a condition to move. Leaving Wheeling in this last-named month, by a rapid march by the nearest route, the army, consisting of about 300 men, reached a village of the Delawares on the Muskingum on the evening of April 19, and completely surprised the Indians. The river not being fordable, such of the Indians as were on the west side of the river escaped, but those on the east side were captured without a shot being fired. A number of the warriors captured were scalped by direction of a council of war held on the spot. The next morning an Indian communicated from the opposite side of the river saying that he wanted peace. Col. Brodhead, who was in command of the expedition, ordered him to send over his chief, assuring him at the time that his safety should not be imperilled. But in the face of this promise it is said that the chief was tomahawked by Lewis Wetzel, the terror of the savages. After the destruction of another village a short distance from the former, the army commenced its march homeward, carrying with them some fifteen or twenty prisoners, who were permitted to go but a short distance before they were killed by the soldiers. A few women and children who were taken to Fort Pitt, were afterward exchanged for an equal number of prisoners held by the Indians. On his return Brodhead communicated with the Moravian missionaries and Christian Indians and endeavored to persuade them by reason of their liability to attack from the Indians on one side and the whites on the other, to abandon their villages in the Tuscarawas country and return with him to Fort Pitt. But this they declined to do. Thus ended what was called the Coshocton campaign.

The following is the report of the expedition made by Col. Brodhead to Pres. Reed of the executive council of Pennsylvania:

“PHILADELPHIA, May 22, 1781.

“SIR: In the last letter I had the honor to address to your excellency, I mentioned my intention to carry on an expedition against the revolted Delaware towns. I have now the pleasure to inform you, that with about 300 men (nearly half the number volunteers from the country), I surprised the towns of Cooshasking and Indaechaie, killed fifteen warriors and took upwards of twenty odd men, women and children. About four miles above

the town I detached a party to cross the river Muskingum and destroy a party of about forty warriors, who had just before (as I learned by an Indian whom the advance guard took prisoner), crossed over with some prisoners and scalps, and were drunk, but excessive hard rains having swelled the river bank high, it was found impracticable.

"After destroying the towns, with great quantities of poultry and other stores, and killing about forty head of cattle, I marched up the river about seven miles, with a view to send for some craft from the Moravian towns, and cross the river to pursue the Indians; but when I proposed my plan to the volunteers I found they conceived they had done enough, and were determined to return, wherefore I marched to Newcomerstown, where a few Indians who remain in our interest, had withdrawn themselves, not exceeding thirty men. The troops experienced great kindness from the Moravian Indians, and those at Newcomerstown, and obtained a sufficient supply of meat and corn to subsist the men and horses to the Ohio river. Capt. Killbuck and Capt. Luzerne, upon hearing of our troops being on the Muskingum, immediately pursued the warriors, killed one of their greatest villains and brought his scalp to me. The plunder brought in by the troops sold for about £80 at Fort Henry. I had upon this expedition Capts. Mantour and Wilson, and three other faithful Indians who contributed greatly to the success. The troops behaved with great spirit, and although there was considerable firing between them and the Indians I had not a man killed or wounded, and only one horse shot.

"I have the honor to be with great respect and attachment, your excellency's most obedient, most humble servant.

"DANIEL BRODHEAD,
Col. 1st P. R.

"Directed His Excellency Joseph Reed, Esq."*

In the latter part of the summer of 1781 intelligence was received by the commander at Fort Pitt that a large force of Indians were on the march to attack the border with the expectation that Wheeling in particular was the object of their efforts. He at once sounded the note of warning and dispatched an express to Fort Henry with the information and urged upon them to guard against stratagem and defend the post to the last extremity, and assuring them that he would do all in his power to aid them. The warning was acted upon at once and the preparations to stand a siege were all made. Upon the appearance of the Indians in September all things were in readiness to receive them. They had expected to surprise the inhabitants, capture the fort and secure an easy victory, but instead *they* were the surprised. Finding themselves baffled, they contented them-

* Penn. Archives, Vol. IX., p. 161.

selves with burning some of the vacated cabins and running off such stock as had been left exposed. The first intimation those within the fort had of the presence of savages was through a boy named George Reikart, who reached the fort in a state of exhaustion from the efforts made by him to elude his pursuers. He stated that a large force of Indians were at the spring (at the base of the hill east of the fort) and that they had killed a boy who was his companion and had taken one David Glenn prisoner. So sudden and cautious had been the approach of the Indians, that the boy companion of Reikart was shot down and Glenn taken prisoner. Reikart was separated from the others at some distance and was engaged in nutting at the time. As soon as he heard the firing, he started to run toward the fort for shelter, but he did not escape wholly unhurt for just as he was entering the gate of the fort a leaden messenger overtook him, striking him upon the wrist. The savages tarried a brief period taking their departure after demanding a surrender of the fort and bidding adieu to its inmates by indulging in the most insulting gestures and motions. One of the saddest tragedies which has left an imperishable stain upon the pages of American history is that of the unprovoked and heartless murder and unheard of tortures visited upon the Moravians in March, 1782, by an expedition under the command of Col. David Williamson, a brave, energetic and successful soldier of the Indian wars of the revolution.

These Indians, called the "praying Indians," had removed from the Delaware river as early as the year 1769, and had settled in three different places on the Muskingum river, called by them respectively, Gnadenhutzen, Schoenbrunn and Salem, where they cultivated the arts of peace and civilization, seeking their mental and spiritual improvement under the ministerial teaching and influence of such worthy men as Rev. John Heckewelder, Michael Jung and David Ziesberger. Their towns were situated in the southern part of Tuscarawas county and had become places of some importance. Their possessions were considerable, as they had several hundred acres of corn on the river lowlands, 200 cattle, 400 hogs and a large number of poultry. The British officers in the preceding year had attempted to secure their removal through the action of the Six Nations, who, although they considered the request in council, never took measures looking to a compliance. The fact is, the Christian Indians were really friendly to the whites, and frequently gave them intelligence of the approach of roving bands inimical to them. By reason of their geographical position they were objects of suspicion to the British, the British Indians and the Americans, and these suspicions were kept in lively exercise, occasioned

either by the neutrality or friendship they manifested. Their very virtues were made the excuse for their punishment.

During February, 1782, several murders had been perpetrated on the frontier in the vicinity of Wheeling, which were probably the work of the Wyandots, but were charged upon the Moravians. The people along the border were wrought up to a state of fierce frenzy. Early in March, some ninety or 100 men rendezvoused at Mingo, and appointed Col. David Williamson to the command. Their pretended object was the capture and removal of the Christian Indians, and the destruction of their fields and houses. Although the villages had been uninhabited during the winter, just at this time about 150 Moravians were there. These had been permitted to temporarily return from Sandusky where they had been carried as prisoners by their Indian enemies during the preceding year, for the purpose of gathering corn, large quantities of which remained in their old fields. They were so engaged when the expedition under Williamson arrived at the place of their former peaceful and happy homes. The victims apprehended no danger at the hands of the Americans, believing them to be their steadfast friends. The men professed to have come on a peaceful errand, and with expressions of good will informed them that they had come to remove them to Fort Pitt for their greater safety. The Indians unhesitatingly believed these declarations, and immediately delivered up their weapons of defense. The soldiers then went to Salem and induced the Indians there to accompany them to Gnadenhutten, the inhabitants of which latter place had in the meantime been bound without resistance. When those brought from Salem arrived they were treated in a similar manner.

A council of war was now held to decide upon their fate, and the question was referred to the whole of those who composed the expedition for decision. The question was then put—"Whether they should be taken as prisoners to Fort Pitt, or be put to death?" When Col. Williamson requested those in favor of preserving their lives to step to the front, only *sixteen* advanced from the ranks and the doom of the unfortunate Moravians was fixed. They were ordered to prepare for death. They at once knelt in prayer and engaged in religious exercises. While they were thus engaged the blood-thirsty majority rushed upon them and began the sanguinary work of death and continued until one by one the wretched prisoners fell beneath the blows of the tomahawk and the cruel stroke of the scalping knife. Those who had protested against the decree of death, while their colleagues were engaged in this murderous butchery, stood apart and in loud and vehement tones indignantly condemned the atrocities of which they were unwilling witnesses. It is said

that forty men, twenty-two women and thirty-two children were destroyed in the limits of a few minutes. Two boys alone escaped, one of whom fell into a cellar, and the other, after being tomahawked and scalped, secreted himself. All the property which could not be removed was deliberately destroyed. The houses containing the mutilated bodies of the slain were fired, and by the light of this burning hecatomb of human victims the expedition set out on its return through the forest which echoed with the rude sounds of their ill-timed jests and their songs of victory. Doddridge, in vindication of the character of Williamson, writes of him as follows:

"In justice to the memory of Col. Williamson, I have to say, that although at that time very young, I was personally acquainted with him, and from my recollection of his conversation, I say with confidence that he was a brave man, but not cruel. He would meet an enemy in battle, and fight like a soldier, but not murder a prisoner. Had he possessed the authority of a superior officer in a regular army, I do not believe that a single Moravian Indian would have lost his life; but he possessed no such authority. He was only a militia officer who would advise but not command. His only fault was that of too easy a compliance with popular opinion and popular prejudice. On this account his memory has been loaded with unmerited reproach."

On the return of the expedition to the settlements, a number of the whites expressed their horror and disapproval of the act. Encouraged by the success which had attended the expedition against the innocent and unoffending Moravians, some of those who had been engaged in that enterprise, desired to inaugurate a larger undertaking of more extended operations, with a view of attacking the Indian towns on the Sandusky. The proposition met with the approval of the general commanding the western military department, who, on the 21st of May, 1782, wrote to Gen. Washington, informing him of the movement as follows: "Sir:—A number of the principal people of this country made application to me, about two weeks since, for my consent to their collecting a body of volunteers to go against Sandusky, which I agreed to on these express conditions: that they did not mean to extend their settlements, nor had anything in view but to harass the enemy, with an intention to protect the frontiers, and that any conquest they might make should be in behalf and for the United States; that they would be governed by military laws as militia; that they must collect such numbers as might probably be successful; and lastly, that they would equip themselves and victual at their own expense. They are accordingly assembling this day at the Mingo Bottom all on horseback, with thirty days' provisions. They have asked of me only a few flints and a small supply of powder. As they will

elect their officers, I have taken some pains to get Col. [William] Crawford appointed to command, and hope he will be. He does not wish to go with a smaller number than 400; whether this number will assemble I cannot say. He pressed me for some officers. I have sent with him Lieut. Rose, my aid de camp, a very vigilant, active, brave, young gentleman well acquainted with service, and a surgeon. These two are all I could venture to spare," etc. Four hundred and eighty men assembled at the place of rendezvous and took up their line of march for the Sandusky on the 25th day of May. The men who had volunteered for the expedition were from Washington, Westmoreland and Ohio counties, and were all mounted. The names of those who accompanied them as scouts were Jonathan Zane, Thomas Nicholson and John Slover. *Here is a drawing*

On the 4th of June the enemy were encountered, numbering over 300, consisting of about 200 savages and a company of rangers from Detroit, under command of Captain William Caldwell. A battle ensued with the advantage on the side of the Americans. The next day the enemy being reinforced by a large force of Shawnees and a small body of rangers, a council of war was called by Crawford which decided to retreat. Soon after dark of the same day the retreat commenced in a considerable degree of confusion. After meeting with many difficulties and trials they succeeded in reaching the Mingo Bottom on their return, and recrossed the Ohio on the 13th of June. The entire loss was fifty men. Among those retained as prisoners were Col. Crawford, Dr. Knight, Maj. McClelland and John Slover. Only two of the number taken prisoners by the enemy escaped, viz.: Dr. Knight and John Slover. Col. Crawford, his son-in-law (William Harrison), and a few others were burnt at the stake.

The expedition to which we have referred seemed to exasperate and arouse the savages to greater acts of cruelty and a more determined spirit of retaliation. During this year the Indians had taken the field earlier than was customary, and their attacks upon the border were more numerous and unceasing than in any former year. And these raids were not confined by them to the more exposed parts of the border, but they penetrated into the interior and with the venom of savage ferocity prosecuted an unrelenting warfare. Home after home was desolated — family after family was destroyed, and the whole country was excited and aroused by the temerity they exhibited and the wholesale depredations committed by them. Their revengeful manifestations were particularly apparent in and among the settlements on the upper Monongahela. The attention of the authorities of Virginia having been called to the deplorable condition of affairs in the western portion of the state, William Davies, incumbent of the military department — under the state government, at the

instance of the executive addressed the following communication to Brig. Gen. Irvine, then in command of the western military department at Fort Pitt:

“WAR OFFICE, Virginia, April 12, 1782.

“SIR:—The incursions of the Indians into the county of Monongalia and the number of the inhabitants they have killed, have induced government to order a company from Hampshire to march to their relief, to be under the immediate command of Col. Evans, of Monongalia.* The defense of these people being a continental as well as a state object, I have desired Col. Evans to maintain a correspondence with you, not doubting of your readiness to co-operate in repelling the common enemy as far as may be consistent with the more particular duties of your command at Fort Pitt. From the knowledge I have of your character, and the small acquaintance I had the honor to have with you in the army, I have taken this liberty more explicitly to address you as I hope the people will meet with a more speedy and efficacious assistance from you in their present distress, than the urgency of their circumstances can admit from a dependence upon government who are so far removed from them; and in this application I have a firmer confidence in your ready attention to it, from the reflection that one Virginia regiment composes a part of your command. The people of Monongalia are distressed for ammunition as well as fire arms, both of which, in the low state of our finances, we find it extremely difficult to forward to them. If, therefore, you have any to spare, particularly ammunition, it will be serving them essentially, and shall be replaced as soon as it can be forwarded; and as two or three hundred weight will be sufficient, or indeed half that quantity, I am in hopes it can be spared by you without inconvenience, etc.”

“Your very obedient servant,

“Brig.-Gen. Irvine, Fort Pitt.”

“WILLIAM DAVIES.”

The terrible state of affairs prevailing along the border, and particularly along the upper Monongahela, was made the subject of earnest complaint to the Virginia authorities, and the distress and troubles of the people in the western portion of the state continued to be pressed upon the attention of the executive. But neither in a financial nor military point of view was the state in a condition just then to meet these urgent demands. In both of these respects she had put forth every effort to further the cause of the revolution. But she did what she could as will be perceived from the tenor of the following letter addressed to Brig.-Gen. Irvine:

“WAR OFFICE, May 22, '82.

“SIR: Agreeable to the direction of his excellency in council, I have the honor to inform you of the steps taken for the defense

* County lieutenant.

of the frontiers. Several orders have from time to time been issued according to the various circumstances of our affairs in that quarter. Upon a representation of their distresses orders were issued for one company of militia from Hampshire to march to Monongalia, and be disposed of as Col. Evans should direct, and an officer and twenty privates from Augusta were ordered to be stationed at Tyger's Valley. The Hampshire men were to be relieved by a company formed from Rockingham and Augusta, and the ensign and twenty were to return without relief at the end of two months. In addition to these detachments it was afterward found necessary to order a reinforcement of thirty-one rank and file from Augusta, including the ensign and twenty before mentioned, and nineteen rank and file from Rockingham to rendezvous at Tyger's Valley, under the immediate orders of Lieut.-Col. Wilson, but subject to the general direction of Col. Evans, and to be relieved after performing a tour of two months by the counties Shenandoah, Frederick, and Berkeley, and the company first ordered from Hampshire will therefore return without relief at the expiration of their tour. There have likewise been subsequent orders to the county lieutenants of Augusta and Rockingham for twenty-two rank and file to be furnished by the first; and thirteen rank and file from the latter, to be stationed at such places as the commanding officer of Augusta should think best for the defense of his county, and to be returned after performing a tour of two months by the militia of Rockbridge.

"I have informed Col. Evans of the order of his excellency that the defense of the frontier should be subject to your directions in future, and have requested him to furnish such portion of his militia as you may think necessary to call for.

"I have the honor to be with great respect,

"Your obedient servant,

"Addressed:

"WILLIAM DAVIES."

"The Honorable

"BRIGADIER GENERAL IRVINE,

"*War Office* }

"Fort Pitt."

Immediately on the receipt of the letter of April 12th heretofore given, Gen. Irvine, under date of April 20th, replied, addressing his letter to the executive of Virginia (Benjamin Harrison), suggesting that "it would be generally better to place the whole defense of that country under one commander," and also proposing a plan by which the forces might be shifted from the territory of one state to that of the other in case of necessity, etc. In reply to this the governor of Virginia wrote as follows:

"In Council May 22, 1782.

"Sir: Your favor of the 20th ult., by Lt. Thomas came safe to hand. Orders have been long since sent from hence, to the

counties of Augusta and Hampshire to send to Monongahela seventy men to assist in guarding the frontiers of that county. These troops, I expect, will probably be stationed at or near Tyger's Valley and the West Fork. As these posts are not too great a distance from you, I suppose it would be improper to remove the men from them, though I perfectly agree in opinion with you, that it would be generally better to place the whole defense of that country under one commander, for which reasons orders are now sent to the commanding officers of Monongahela and Ohio, to furnish so many men as they can spare to assist you, though there is one great obstruction to your plan, which is, that as our law now stands the militia of this state cannot be removed out of it. The assembly may probably make some alteration in the law. If they do I shall advise you of it. Measures are taking for running the boundary line between the two states and I expect commissioners will meet for that purpose on the extremity of the Maryland line on the 10th day of July next, which I hope will quiet the people and reconcile them to the present governments.

"I am your most obedient and humble servant,
"BENJ. HARRISON."

"GEN. IRVINE."

Endorsed ("Public Service.")

"Brigadier General Irvine, Fort Pitt."

"BENJ. HARRISON."

The year 1782 was one of marked hostility and activity against the whites upon the part of the Indians, which rendered it one of the most fearful and trying to the former. The news of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to the American army in the preceding year having come to the knowledge of the Indians within a few weeks after it occurred, they became apprehensive that peace would soon be declared between the mother countries and the colonies, when the whole power of the whites would be concentrated against them and they would soon be overwhelmed by the force of disciplined soldiery. Accordingly a call was issued for a council of the confederated tribes with instructions to meet in the following month of August, at the Chillicothe, to determine as to their future course of action, and to adopt such measures as in their judgment the emergency demanded.

Before proceeding to give an account of the resolutions arrived at by this council we ask the attention of the reader to the sad fate of that brave and fearless Indian fighter and scout, Major Sam McColloch, whose almost miraculous escape from the hands of the savages at the siege of Fort Henry in the year 1777, we have already referred to. Fort Vanmetre was located on the waters of Short creek about four miles south of the town of West Liberty. It was a square building, built of rough hewn

logs and occupied the center space which was enclosed with pickets about twelve feet in length, and was ample in its accommodations to shelter all who might be expected to avail themselves of its protection. On the morning of the 30th of July, in the year 1782, Major Sam McColloch set out on the last scout he ever made. Indications of prowling savages having been discovered in the vicinity, he, together with his brother John, was ordered out on a scout to ascertain the correctness of the fact. In company the two set out and cautiously and carefully made their way toward the river without discovering any signs of Indians in the neighborhood. They had reached a point on the river about two miles above Wheeling and then took their course up the banks of the stream to the mouth of Short creek, where they again changed their course in the direction of the fort, mounting a hill known as "Girty's point." Their scout, it appears, had satisfied them of the absence of Indians in the neighborhood, and resting under this belief they relaxed in a degree their watchfulness and caution, and were riding along and conversing pleasantly when suddenly the silence of the surrounding forest was broken by the sharp crack of rifles and Maj. McColloch fell dead from his horse, and at the same moment the horse bestrode by John sank to the ground in death. Instantly springing to the major's horse, which was unhurt, he mounted him and dashed off at full speed, and thus succeeded in eluding his enemies. During this time no enemy was to be seen, but he had not ridden far before turning in his saddle he beheld a large crowd of Indians gathered around the body of his deceased brother and one Indian engaged in the act of taking the scalp lock. Quick as thought he raised his rifle and taking a fatal aim, the savage with scalping knife in hand fell dead before the unerring missile. With the exception of a slight gunshot wound John escaped unhurt to the fort and communicated the sad tidings of his brother's death.

The next day a party of men from Vanmetre's fort went out and gathered up the remains of this heroic pioneer. The Indians had taken out his entrails which were found hanging upon a tree near by, having secured and eaten his heart under the belief that it would make them bold and brave like the great captain they had slain. The tree upon which the entrails of McColloch were suspended is still standing and is well known to those residing in the vicinity. That was a sad and sorrowful party that bore back his remains to the fort. The scene when they arrived at the fort is described as most pathetic. The eyes of those stalwart men, unused to weeping, were suffused with tears and as they entered the fort bearing his remains, heart-broken sobs and groans were heard on every side. Mourned and honored they laid him to rest, beneath the greensward

under the overhanging branches of the forest trees, and then with aching hearts turned away to meet and discharge the stern duties of the present hour. It was but a few months preceding this that he had been married to a most estimable lady and worthy companion, Miss Mitchell, who was subsequently married to Mr. Andrew Woods.

The tract of land lying on Short creek which he owned at the time of his death, was a portion of the tract taken up by John Wilson and himself in the year 1772. John Wilson emigrated to this section from the state of New Jersey. His first visit was made about the year 1771, and in about two years thereafter he returned to his native state and brought with him to his western home his wife, Rebecca. Before going east he had erected a small log cabin. On his return with his wife, as they arrived in sight of it he pointed it out to her and at the same time remarked: "There, Becky, is your future home." It was with a mighty effort that she restrained her struggling tears. She made no reply, but cheerfully acquiesced in the lot which had been assigned to her. Her life of wifely devotion and heroic fortitude has enbalméd her memory and kept it green through all the generations of her offspring. In this year (1772), Mr. Wilson planted a pear tree on his farm which has grown and flourished, and for more than a century has brought forth fruit year by year. It still stands, and its lower branches are still thrifty and productive, as within a year past I have conversed with a person—Dr. Wilson, of this city—who ate pears plucked from its boughs within the period indicated. The tract of land thus taken up by Maj. McColloch and John Wilson, as well as the land taken up by the brothers Abraham McColloch and John McColloch, are still owned and occupied by the descendants of these respective families, whose farms are among the most fertile and productive in the county.

We now resume the consideration of the results arrived at by the Indians in the council held by them at Chillicothe concerning their future course of action. After much deliberation they resolved to raise two armies with which to penetrate the frontier. The one numbering some 600 warriors which was destined to operate against the infant settlements in Kentucky—the other consisting of 350 warriors which was to operate against the settlements in the upper portion of the Ohio valley. This latter force was accompanied by a detachment of British soldiers, fifty in number, belonging to the Queen's rangers under the command of Capt. Pratt.

In the beginning of September, 1782, the celebrated Indian spy and scout—John Lynn—the same individual who was present at the time of the fatal attack and ambuscade at the "Narrows," below Wheeling, where Col. Foreman and twenty-one of

his men were so mercilessly massacred by the savages, being out on a scout on the west side of the Ohio river discovered a large force of Indians, accompanied with British soldiers, marching with all speed in the direction of Wheeling. With all promptitude he hastened to inform the inhabitants at that place. Swimming the river he reached the fort a few hours in advance of the enemy and gave the alarm. But the time being limited, no *general* alarm could be given, hence, only those present and in the immediate vicinity of the fort had the opportunity of seeking its shelter and protection, and of such there were not more than twenty effective men, all told, who were capable of doing active service. Col. Shepherd, the county commandant, and by virtue of his office the superior officer, was at that time absent on military business, and the command of the fort devolved on Capt. Silas Zane. East of, and but a short distance from, the fort, stood the log dwelling of Col. Ebenezer Zane, attached to which was a small magazine containing the military supplies which had been furnished by the government of Virginia, and also a kitchen or outbuilding occupied by "Daddy Sam," so-called (a negro slave owned by Col. Zane, and to whom he was much attached), and his wife, familiarly known by the name of "Kate."

On the occasion of the attack upon the fort by the Indians in the year 1777, Col. Zane and his family had abandoned his cabin and sought shelter in the fort, at which time it was reduced to ashes by the besiegers. He then declared that if the Indians again made their appearance he would not abandon his dwelling, but would defend it to the last extremity. As an outpost for the protection of the fort, and as an annoyance to an hostile force, it could not be excelled. Hence, on the appearance of the Indians at this time he made all necessary preparations possible for its defense. Had he retired from it all the military stores and ammunition stored there would have fallen into the hands of the enemy and have been destroyed or appropriated by them. The names of those who remained with him in his cabin were Andrew Scott, George Green, Elizabeth Zane, his wife, Molly Scott, Miss McColloch, a sister of Maj. Sam and John McColloch, from Short creek, who at that time was on a visit to her sister, Mrs. Zane, and "Daddy Sam," the negro we have already mentioned, and his wife "Kate." The savages approached under cover of the British flag which was unfurled to the breeze and waved in proud defiance by the color bearer in the face of the little band of heroic defenders. Before commencing their attack they demanded the immediate surrender of the fort in the name of His Britanic Majesty, to which no other reply was given than by the firing of a shot by some one in the fort at the offensive colors which were flaunted before them. Thereupon the assault commenced in dreadful earnest, the frenzied savages

rushing forward like madmen, and in their wild attempt striving to destroy the pickets so as to effect an entrance to the fort and take it by storm. Col. Zane had arranged and posted his limited force within his house to the best advantage, and where it would do the most execution. As the Indians sounded their war-whoop and made their desperate rush, he opened upon them with a well-directed and brisk fire simultaneously with the one from the fort, so as to cause them to fall back in great disorder and to seek cover where their persons would be less exposed. But others again seeing the discomfiture of their comrades, promptly, with loud and deafening yells rushed forward to take the places of those who had retired, only to be repulsed again. And although these charges were repeated again and again, yet, in every instance, they suffered a recoil. These unsuccessful efforts upon their part were continued until night threw her mantle over the earth and a brief cessation of conflict and a temporary rest was secured. Yet it was but for a brief time this respite was granted. Their assailants were engaged in holding a consultation and deliberating among themselves how best to obtain possession of, or destroy, the cabin of Col. Zane, which had proven so offensive to them in their repeated assaults on the fort and thus balked their efforts at its reduction. The conclusion arrived at was to make an attempt under the cover of darkness to destroy it by firing it and reducing it to ashes.

After an interval of an hour or two, when silence had settled down upon the scene and the campfires of the savages had been put out, and it was presumed that the whites had relaxed, in some degree, their caution and vigilance, a savage, with a half-burned brand in his hand, crawled in the direction of the kitchen of the house, upon nearing which, he slowly rose from the ground and waving the brand to and fro and blowing upon it to enliven and re-kindle it, was about to stealthily apply it to the building when, of a sudden, the quiet was disturbed by the sharp crack of a rifle which rang out in the stillness of the night, which, a moment later, was accompanied by a sharp yell of pain and rage ere the echoes had ceased to resound in the mazes of the forest. The vigilant and quick eye of "Daddy Sam" had detected the savage in time to foil him in his designs and spoil his calculations, thereby saving his master's property from destruction. Other similar attempts were made on the same night, but in every instance "Daddy Sam" was on the alert and always frustrated them. And here we will be pardoned if, in passing, we say a word or two concerning this individual. He was an original importation from Guinea, and had all the characteristics of a native of that country, believing in charms, incantations and signs, and was a bundle of strange superstitions and beliefs, and these he retained until the day of

his death. He and wife were assiduously cared and provided for by Col. Zane and his family until their decease. This gentleman erected for them a cozy cabin on the upper portion of the island known as Zane's Island, immediately opposite the city of Wheeling. "Daddy Sam" died in peace and contentment, honored and respected by the whole community, worn out with age and its attendant infirmities. At his death he left strict injunctions to have his rifle and his accoutrements, tomahawk, knife and silver snuff box, buried with him, that they might bear him company to the happy hunting grounds of the African. So greatly was he esteemed, that he was buried with military honors, and he was followed to the grave by an immense concourse of citizens, composed of the most prominent as well as the humblest members of society. In stature he was small and of light frame, with arms of unusual length, and a complexion as black as coal.

But to resume our narrative. At daylight on the following morning the lines of the enemy showed that they were tightly drawn and in compact order, but they were laggard in renewing the assault. However, they were not idle, but were actively employed in making preparations evidently for some important event. Shortly after dark of the preceding day a canoe loaded with cannon balls from Fort Pitt and destined for the falls of the Ohio, had put ashore under the cover of the fort. It was discovered by the Indians, but its occupants succeeded in effecting an entrance for themselves into the fort, in their efforts to do which, however, one of them—Daniel Sullivan—was wounded in the foot. The savages secured the canoe and took possession of its contents. A new idea now dawned upon them—why not utilize these missiles and make them play a part in the reduction of the fort? The idea was approved and the suggestion was at once put into execution. Securing a hollow log, which they deemed adapted for the purpose, they proceeded to bind it with iron chains, which they found in the blacksmith shop of the village. Filling it with a heavy charge of powder, they rammed home as many of the captured balls as it could conveniently hold, and with as much accuracy as possible under the circumstances, aimed it against one of the bastions. All was now ready as soon as it was primed, for which purpose a big Indian stepped forward emptying from his powder horn a sufficient quantity around the vent. A crowd of Indians collected around to witness this new engine of destruction and the effect produced upon the fort by its discharge, not doubting in the least that it would prove more or less destructive in its effects. In this supposition they were not deceived, but were sorely disappointed in the nature of the result which ensued. All things being ready an Indian advanced with a lighted brand which he applied to the vent hole and thereby stamped

"finis" on the last page of his own and the life history of his curious companions who were near by him at the time. Several were killed, many were seriously, and some slightly wounded, and all were terror stricken by the unexpected result. The unlooked for and unexpected havoc caused among their number by the explosion of their wooden artillery, which burst into fragments, led them to become wild and furious under their disappointment and the loss and wounding of so many of their number, and wild with rage in their excitement they redoubled their exertions, renewing the assault with heedless desperation and exposing themselves in the most careless manner to the shots from the house and the fort. At times it appeared that the Indians would succeed, but then the fortunes of the day would change and the fortunes of the inmates of the fort appeared to be in the ascendant. Thus the conflict wavered until noon when the forces of the Indians were drawn off temporarily.

It was exceedingly fortunate for the little garrison that the savages desisted from their attack when they did, as the ammunition of the defenders of the fort was beginning to grow short. The alarm given by Lynn of the approach of the enemy having, as we have stated, been so limited, and the fact that the fort was destitute to a great extent of any large supply of ammunition to enable it to withstand a protracted siege, it was discovered that the supply on hand was being rapidly exhausted, and some measures must be adopted to supply the need. As before stated, there was plenty of powder stored in the magazine at Col. Zane's house, but for all practical purposes it might as well have been a hundred miles away. The contingency which had now happened could not have been foreseen and the emergency now upon them was a grave one. But it was one which had to be met, and the question was, how could they best replenish their almost exhausted stock? An effort at least to obtain powder from Col. Zane's house it was absolutely necessary should be made, for should the enemy return to the assault in their then condition the danger of the inmates was not only imminent but their almost certain doom was sealed. Among the many propositions which were made and the one which seemed to obtain favor was, that one of the fleetest runners among the younger men should be selected for the perilous undertaking of obtaining a keg of powder from Col. Zane's house and hasten with it to the relief of the besieged. It was an undertaking full of daring, with the prospect of almost certain death to the person who might essay the task. But undeterred by magnitude of the feat and the peril which attended it, at the call of Capt. Zane for a volunteer to risk, several brave men stepped forward, each one of whom insisted on being permitted to make the attempt. The loss of a single man at this juncture would be keenly felt by the entire

company. While Capt. Zane was hesitating in arriving at a decision, and making his choice from among those chivalric spirits who had so promptly offered their services, there came bounding into his presence his own sister—Elizabeth Zane—in the elasticity of her youthful strength—and volunteered to attempt the accomplishment of the errand, regardless of what might befall her, if thereby she could be instrumental in saving the lives of others; when told that a man would encounter less danger by reason of his superior fleetness, she nobly replied,—“That the loss of a man under the circumstances would be more severely felt than her own—you have not one man to spare,” she said—“a woman will not be missed in the defense of the fort.” All the arguments adduced by her brother and others to dissuade her from making the attempt, together with the expostulations of the other females, had the effect of only confirming her in her resolution. Reluctantly they finally acquiesced in her purpose and her services were accepted. Divesting herself of all unnecessary clothing which might impede her in her progress, she appeared ready for the dangerous ordeal. The gate was swung open and the young heroine sprang out in the swelling buoyancy of hope, knowing no such word as fail, in the full confidence of success, and swift as a deer she sped away on her mission, arriving safely at the cabin of her brother—Col. Ebenezer Zane—who saw her coming and promptly opened the door to receive her.

When the Indians saw her bounding along at the top of her speed they were amazed at her temerity, but did not offer to fire at her but contented themselves with simply exclaiming with contemptuous sneers—“a squaw—a squaw.” Upon reaching her destination she lost no time in stating her business. After a brief breathing spell she announced her readiness to return, whereupon, Col. Zane, taking a table-cloth and fastening it securely around her waist with two of its ends, while the other ends were held by her in her hands, emptied into it a keg of powder, when she again ventured forth on her return to the fort. Her black hair, like a banner, streamed out upon the air, as with swift feet she lessened the intervening distance. But she had not covered more than half the space between the cabin and the fort, when the savages apprehending her purpose, showered a rain of bullets around her, none of which, however, did any execution, as she reached the fort in safety, and delivered the powder without losing any perceptible portion of it. Subsequently, in recounting her experience on this occasion, she would relate how the bullets whistled around her so thick and fast that the dust thrown up by them, as they struck the ground, blinded and confused her so that she could scarcely distinguish her way. As she neared the fort the gate was again thrown open for her entrance, when the Indians made an unavailing effort to reach it before it could be.

closed by making a sudden rush. Finding themselves foiled, they quickly withdrew. This act of heroism, on the part of Elizabeth Zane, doubtless saved the lives of the inmates of the fort, and enabled them successfully to withstand the siege.

As night closed in the enemy renewed their efforts to reduce the fortress and continued them until daylight. Times almost without number during that trying and eventful night the enemy attempted to accomplish by the torch what they could not by superior numbers and vantage. Bundles of hemp and wood and rubbish were heaped by them against the pickets and set fire to at different places. The hemp fortunately being wet, after being ignited would not burn, and the dry wood and rubbish proved also in vain to accomplish their end. When the day dawned after that terrible and trying night, it was greeted by the besieged with a renewal of hope which had been well nigh banished from their hearts. The morning light was the harbinger indeed of joy and gladness and infused fresh life and energy into their despairing souls. When the intelligence reached Shepherd's fort, located at the forks of the Wheeling, of the investiture of Fort Henry by an army of Indians and British soldiers, a party left the former fort with a view of rendering assistance to the inmates of the latter, but arriving in the vicinity they found that it would be impossible for them to gain admission and therefore reluctantly determined to return from whence they came. This conclusion was arrived at in opposition to the views of their leader—Francis Duke—a relative of Col. Shepherd. He insisted that if no one else would, he alone would make the attempt to gain ingress at the fort, at the risk of his life. To all persuasions against the undertaking he turned a deaf ear. He recognized their force and complained not at the resolution of his men to return, but his chivalric character and determined spirit could not be curbed by argument nor persuasion. He did not regard the imminent danger attaching to the bold undertaking, but subordinating this to the higher and nobler promptings of his nature, which enabled him only to see the peril of friends who needed every man for defense, he spurned all restraints, and taking his life in his hands and putting spurs to his horse he sped swift as his horse could carry him toward the gate of the fort calling aloud as he rode, "Open the gate! Open the gate!" He was recognized by those within the fort and the gate was swung open for his admission, but before reaching it he was pierced with bullets and this young and gallant chevalier fell a martyr to his reckless daring and noble disinterestedness.

On the morning of the third day the enemy despairing of success, and abandoning all hope of the reduction of the fort they resolved on raising the siege. This resolution was announced to the inmates by a series of terrific yells and deafening whoops

which was the means adopted by them to give expression to their disgust at their failure. Turning their backs upon the scene they took their departure and recrossed the river, except a party of about 100 chosen warriors who remained on the Virginia side for the purpose of plundering and laying waste the adjacent country. The loss of the enemy during the siege must have been quite large, as those in the fort and in the dwelling of Col. Zane were not in the habit of throwing away their shots. It is a remarkable fact that none of the inmates of either were killed, and but one was slightly wounded—Daniel Sullivan. The chivalric Duke was the only white man slain on the part of the defenders. The persistent and determined courage displayed, both by men and women in the fort and in the cabin of Col. Zane, was simply grand and heroic. In the evening preceding the departure of the Indians from the fort, two white men who had been captured several years before by the Indians and held commands in the force, deserted from them. Early on the following morning they were taken prisoners by Col. Swearingen who, with a force of about 100 men, was hastening to aid in the defense of Wheeling fort, and the chastisement of its assailants. From them he learned the intention of the Indians to withdraw from Wheeling, but leave a portion of their army to operate in the surrounding country. One of these deserters was sent by James Marshall, lieutenant commandant of Washington county, Penn., to Gen. Irvine, commanding at Fort Pitt, to which latter person himself was the bearer of the following letter:

“DEAR SIR:—The bearer is one of the deserters from the enemy in time of the action at Wheeling. Some people say the other deserters report this fellow as a villain, however, be that as it may, I think it best to send him to you that such order may be taken respecting him as you may think proper.

“I am, sir, with attachment, your obedient and humble servant,

“JAMES MARSHALL, L. W. C.

“16th Sept., 1782, Endorsed: Public.”

“To the Hon’ble William Irvine,

“Brigadier General, Fort Pitt.”

The following extract from a letter written by the author of the foregoing letter and addressed by him to Gen. Irvine under date of September 12, 1782, will be of interest in this connection.

“By an express, this moment, arrived from Wheeling, I have received the following intelligence, viz.: That a large trail was discovered yesterday about 3 o’clock near that place. Capt. Boggs, who brought the account, says that when he left the fort about one mile and a half he heard the swivel at Wheeling fired and one rifle. He further says that Ebenezer McColloch, from

Vanmetre's fort, on his way to Wheeling, got within half a mile of the place shortly after Boggs left it, when he was alarmed by hearing a heavy and constant fire about the fort, and makes no doubt the fort was then attacked. Boggs is gone into the settlements to alarm the inhabitants, and I am afraid, will injure the expedition,* as we have had so many false alarms this summer. I can't think of making much of the present one until the truth of it is known with certainty, notwithstanding I should be inexcusable in not giving you the account as I have received it."

Two days after the foregoing letter was written, the following, written by Ebenezer Zane, was sent to Gen. Irvine by the hands of a Mr. Loyd:

"WHEELING, 14th of September, 1782.

"SIR:—On the evening of the 11th instant, a body of the enemy appeared in sight of our garrison. They immediately formed their lines round the garrison, paraded British colors and demanded the fort to be surrendered, which was refused. About 12 o'clock at night they rushed hard on the pickets in order to storm, but were repulsed. They made two other attempts to storm before day, but to no purpose. About 8 o'clock next morning there came a negro from them to us and informed us that their force consisted of a British captain and forty regular soldiers and 260 Indians. The enemy kept up a continual fire the whole day. About 10 o'clock at night they made a fourth attempt to storm, to no better purpose than the former. The enemy continued round the garrison till the morning of the 13th instant, when they disappeared. Our loss is none. Daniel Sullivan, who arrived here in the first of the action, is wounded in the foot. I believe they have driven the greatest part of our stock away, and might, I think, be soon overtaken.

"I am with due respect, your obedient servant,

"EBENEZER ZANE."

Addressed, "William Irvine,

"Brigadier General, commanding at Pittsburgh."

The names of some of the heroic little band who were in the fort on this occasion we give as follows, viz.: Silas Zane, Jonathan Zane, Andrew Zane, John Caldwell, Abraham Rogers, John Linn, John Salter, Joseph Biggs, Robert Lemmon, John Neiswanger, Daniel Sullivan, Elizabeth Zane, Lydia Boggs, Mary Burkitt and Betsey Wheat. De Hass, in his "History of the Indian Wars in Western Virginia," gives additional names and includes the most of those herein mentioned, but the names mentioned were obtained many years ago from a person now deceased† who, at the time of the siege, was an inmate of the fort, and who gave the names of those only which she was able to recollect.

* A proposed expedition to act against Sandusky.

† Mrs. Mary Burkitt, who died about 1861, in the one hundred and fifth year of her age.

It is much to be regretted that a full list cannot be secured and inscribed upon a roll of honor where their names and memories might be preserved throughout all coming generations. We need to vitalize these epochs of our early history which have rendered our local annals so illustrious. They are the story of a romance woven not by the fertile fancy of poetic imagination, but of the plain and unvarnished truths of a stern reality.

If anything is wanting to inspire our zeal or to awaken our dormant enthusiasm it should be found in the fact that the capstone of the temple of American independence was laid upon the soil of Western Virginia, and that it was upon the soil of the upper Ohio valley that the flag of St. George was humbled in the dust and the last British gun was fired during the war of the revolution.

A few years after the close of the revolutionary war, Capt. Robert Kirkwood, of the Delaware line, and who had been aide-de-camp to Gen. Washington, settled near the mouth of Indian run on the west side of the Ohio river in what is now Belmont county, Ohio, opposite to Wheeling. He here built a cabin and cleared the ground, and commenced farming. About a year after his arrival he began the erection of a block house, but before it was completed in the early spring of the year 1791, a large body of Indians attacked his cabin. At the time Capt. Kirkwood was absent in the east, but on this occasion Capt. Joseph Biggs, with a company of his scouts was in the cabin, together with several persons who were sheltering there.

Early in the morning Capt. Biggs arose and went to the outside of the cabin, stretched himself for a brief space and returning, closed the large oaken door, and without any well-defined purpose in his mind for so doing, barricaded the door to make it more secure. Returning to his bed, in a few minutes he was startled by the familiar Indian yell, accompanied by their efforts to burst in the door, which they were trying to accomplish by a furious assault upon it with rails, logs and tomahawks. The lights in the cabin had all been extinguished and Biggs so stationed his men as to fire upon the savages from every point. The night being clear and the moon full the besieged had the advantage of the besiegers, as they could plainly see any movements upon the part of the Indians, while they themselves were concealed from view. While Capt. Biggs was standing near one of the windows of the cabin watching the movements of the savages, one of them unobserved by Biggs had stolen close along the side of the building and suddenly thrust his rifle through the window where he was standing and shot the captain in his arm just below the shoulder. Notwithstanding the serious character of the wound, he concealed the fact and did not make it known until day-light.

All attempts at battering down the door having failed, they next had recourse to fire and succeeded in setting the roof in a blaze. While the captain and the inmates were pushing off the burning roof, the Indians under the cover of the block house, opened upon them with a fierce fire. But the whites succeeded in pushing off the blazing roof. This aroused the fury of the Indians, and they made renewed efforts to burn the cabin by piling brush and dry wood against the sides of the building, which they fired. But with cautious perseverance they succeeded in extinguishing the flames, which at times threatened them with dire destruction. To accomplish this, they used water, milk and other liquids, and in their state of almost hopeless despair, the damp earth was dug up from the cabin floor and thrown upon the burning piles of brush and wood.

The rapid exchange of shots aroused the people of Wheeling, who commenced firing their swivel gun, the heavy boom of which was echoed by the surrounding hills. This gave the besieged heart and they were encouraged by the hope of succor. The savages became disheartened, knowing full well what it betokened and promptly gathered up their wounded and disappeared. Five of the white were severely wounded, one of them mortally. They were Capt. Joseph Biggs, John Walker, Elijah Hedges, John Barrett and Joseph Van Metre. Walker, who had been shot through the hip during the fight, died the next day, having been taken to the residence of Col. Zane, at Wheeling, where he died and was buried in the old cemetery, which at the time occupied the site of the present residence of Mr. George K. Wheat, on Main street, in the city of Wheeling.

In the cabin at the time of the siege was a man by the name of James Simpson, who had emigrated to the west in 1783, and settled in Washington county, Penn.; Kirkwood, who had been a neighbor of his in Delaware and also a comrade in arms during the war of the revolution, learning that he was residing in Washington county, urged him to come and see him and he would give him all the land he wanted if he would only settle near him on that side of the river. At his urgent solicitation Simpson went, but on his arrival found that Kirkwood was absent, but concluded to stay that night and the next day set out on his return journey to his home. That night the cabin was attacked. After the experience he passed through on that occasion he concluded that he would not settle there for all the land on that side of the river.

A singular incident connected with this affair of the attack on Kirkwood's cabin is related, concerning a niece of his, who lived at a distance of something like twenty miles from the scene of the occurrence. She dreamed that her uncle's cabin was in

flames, and the impression produced upon her mind was so deep and lasting that she visited the scene to assure herself of its truth or falsity. She arrived a few hours after the departure of the Indians to find her dream fully verified. A short time after his return Kirkwood joined the army of Gen. St. Clair in the expedition against the Indians, and was present at the overwhelming defeat of that officer, falling in a bayonet charge against the enemy.



CHAPTER VII.

COL. BROADHEAD'S CAMPAIGN—TREACHEROUS CONDUCT AND MURDER BY THE MILITIA—WILLIAMSON'S CAMPAIGN—THE "PRAYING INDIANS"—REMOVAL OF THE CHRISTIAN DELAWARES TO DETROIT—MURDERS CHARGED TO THE MORAVIAN INDIANS—EXPEDITION ORGANIZED—ARRIVAL AT THE MORAVIAN TOWNS—INDIANS SURRENDER—THEIR TREATMENT—REVOLTING MURDER—CRAWFORD'S CAMPAIGN—EXPEDITION AGAINST INDIAN TOWNS—RENDEZVOUS AT MINGO—THE FIGHT—THE RETREAT—CAPTIVITY OF COL. CRAWFORD—HIS TERRIBLE FATE—DR. KNIGHT'S ESCAPE—SLOVER'S CAPTIVITY AND ESCAPE—ST. CLAIR'S EXPEDITION—FORTS HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON BUILT—ENGAGEMENT WITH THE INDIANS—ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT—THE ARMY RETURNS TO FORT WASHINGTON—ST. CLAIR UNJUSTLY CENSURED—COMMUNICATION TO CONGRESS BY THE PRESIDENT—GEN. WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN.

EN. LACHLAN MCINTOSH, who was in command of the Western Military department, with headquarters at Fort Pitt, retired from the command in April, 1779, and Col. Daniel Broadhead was appointed in his stead. At the time of his appointment he was in command of the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment. He was an able, active and energetic soldier, and was prompt in taking effective measures against the Indians. In April, 1781, with 150 regulars he came to Wheeling, where he was joined by Col. Shepherd, county commandant of Ohio county, Va., with a force of about 140 militia. This expedition was organized to act against the unfriendly Delawares.

From Wheeling they proceeded by the nearest route to Coshocton. When the army had reached the Muskingum, a little below Salem, the lowest Moravian town, Gen. Broadhead sent an express to the missionary dwelling there, Rev. John Heckewelder, informing him that he was in the neighborhood with his army and requesting of him a small supply of provisions and a visit from him to his camp.* The Christian Indians sent the supply of provisions and the missionary repaired to Gen. Broadhead's camp. Gen. Broadhead then said, "that being on an expedition against the hostile Indians at or near the forks of the river, he was anxious to know before he proceeded any

* Doddridge's Notes p. 291.

further, whether any of the Christian Indians were out hunting, or on business in the direction he was going." Being answered in the negative, he declared that, "nothing would give him greater pain, than to hear that any one of the Moravian Indians had been molested by his troops, as these Indians had conducted themselves from the commencement of the war in a manner that did them honor." *

While, however, he was assuring Mr. Heckewelder that the Christian Indians had nothing to fear, an officer came with great speed from one quarter of the camp and reported that a particular division of the militia "were preparing to break off for the purpose of destroying the Moravian settlements up the river, and he feared they could not be restrained from so doing." Gen. Broadhead and Col. David Shepherd, of Wheeling, immediately took such measures as prevented it.† The army then proceeded until within a few miles of Coshocton, when an Indian prisoner was taken. Soon after two more Indians were discovered and fired upon, but notwithstanding one of them was wounded, both made their escape.

General Broadhead, knowing that these two Indians would endeavor to give immediate notice of the approach of the army, ordered a rapid march, in order to reach the town before them, and take it by surprise. This was done in the midst of a heavy fall of rain, and the plan succeeded. The army reached the place in three divisions, the right and left wings approached the river a little above and below the town, while the center marched directly upon it. The whole number of the Indians in the village, on the east side of the river, together with ten or twelve from a little village some distance above, were made prisoners, without firing a single shot. The river having risen to a great height, owing to the recent fall of rain, the army could not cross it. Owing to this, the villages on the west side of the river, escaped destruction. Among the prisoners, sixteen warriors were pointed out by Pe Killon, a friendly Delaware chief, who was with the army of Gen. Broadhead. A little after dark a council of war was held, to determine on the fate of the warriors. They were doomed to death. They were then bound, taken a little distance below the town, dispatched with tomahawks and spears, and scalped.

Early the next morning an Indian presented himself on the opposite bank of the river and asked for the "Big Captain." Gen. Broadhead presented himself and asked the Indian what he wanted? The Indian replied, "I want peace." "Send over some of your chiefs," said Broadhead. "May be you kill." He was answered, "they shall not be killed." One of the chiefs, a

* Heckewelder's Narr., p. 214.

† Ibid., p. 215.

well looking man, came over the river and entered into conversation with Gen. Broadhead in the street; but while engaged in conversation, a man belonging to the army, in a cowardly manner came up behind him, with a tomahawk concealed in the bosom of his hunting shirt, and struck him a blow on the back of his head. He fell and instantly expired. The name of the man who committed this dastardly deed was John Wetzel.

About mid-day the army commenced its retreat from Coshocton. Gen. Broadhead committed the care of the prisoners to the militia. There were about twenty in number. After marching about a mile the men commenced killing them, and did not cease until the whole were murdered and scalped, except a few women and children, who were spared and taken to Fort Pitt.

Although we have in a preceding portion of this history briefly adverted to the massacre of the Moravian Indians in the month of March, 1782, yet we feel called upon to give a more detailed account in a succinct form, of that unfortunate occurrence, which is a stigma on those who perpetrated it, and will forever remain a blemish on the courage and humanity of brave men. This wicked and miserable episode is known as:

Williamson's Campaign.—In 1769, the "Praying Indians," as they were called, upon the Delaware river, had removed and commenced three settlements upon the Muskingum river, which they called Gnadenhuttan, Schoenbraun and Salem. They were under the ministerial charge of the Moravians, and more particularly of the Rev. John Heckewelder, Michael Jung and David Zeisberger. Here they hoped to live in peace and quiet undisturbed by the temptations of white settlements and the bloody conflicts which raged along the borders. They were partially civilized, cultivating the soil and receiving education and religion. Their towns were situated in the southern portion of Tuscarawas county, Ohio, and had become places of some consequence. They had several hundred acres of corn on the river bottoms, 200 head of cattle and 400 head of hogs. As some of the Delaware nation were unfriendly to the government of the United States, and the whites supposed many more to be so than were in reality, the frontiersmen indulged in a strong dislike to the Christian Indians who were Delawares. Many persons thought or pretended to think, that, although the Christian Delawares had renounced theft and war, they still did not scruple to carry information to those who had not. On the other hand, the Wyandots, mortal enemies of the whites, and at open and secret war against them, suspected the Moravian Indians of being in communication with the white citizens, and even with the military of the United States.

The British officers at Detroit made application to the Six Nations in the year 1781, to cause them to be removed. The

matter was considered in a council at Niagara, at which the Iroquois evaded the question by authorizing the Ottawas and Chippewas to kill them, in a figurative message which reads thus: "We herewith make you a present of the Christian Indians, to make soup of." But both the Chippewas and the Ottawas refused the present, and returned the following speech: "We have no cause for doing this."

As early as 1781, the Wyandots, under a noted chief called Half King, arrived at the Moravian towns, with 200 warriors on their way against the Virginians, and threatened these peaceable Indians with destruction.

According to the statement of Mr. Doddridge, in the History of the Indian Wars, the Christian Delawares were really friendly to the whites, and gave them timely notice of the approach of the inimical tribes. Those expatriated whites, Girty, McKee and Elliott, who now held commissions in the British service, and swayed as with an hereditary authority the movements of the Wyandot tribe, longed for the blood of these peaceable Indian settlers. Half King and Capt. Pipe were of the same mind. In this condition of things the Six Nations sent the message, which the Ottawas and Chippewas had refused to execute, to the Wyandots, who were in a very different state of feeling with regard to the Delawares. They did not, however, give it a literal fulfillment, but forcibly removed the Moravians from their towns and their property into their own country on the Sandusky. While Capt. Pipe and his savage troops were prosecuting the removal, a courageous squaw stole one of his horses and rode it from the Muskingum to Fort Pitt, in order to inform the garrison of the doings of the Wyandots. The Indian woman was a relative of Glickhikan, the sachem of the Moravian band of the Delawares, and this daring act very nearly cost him his life. He was taken to Sandusky with the tribe, and their dear missionaries were compelled to accompany them. Considering the geographical position of these unfortunate Indians, situated between the contending forces of the British, British Indians and the Americans, it is by no means strange that they should have been suspected by both parties, and therefore a prey to both.

These inoffensive and unprotected Christians arrived at the Wyandot villages about the middle of October, 1781, accompanied by their children and women, all of them in destitution of body and sorrow of heart. During the winter of 1781-2 their missionaries were separated from them and sent prisoners to Detroit. Not only the missionaries, but the people, were treated with severity. The British finally released their preachers and suffered them to return, expressing their disapprobation of the proceedings. Half King, who had already interfered to save Glickhikan, threw all blame on the head of Girty and his white

confederates, whom he upbraided with vehemence and indignation in a public speech.

The suspicions entertained against them by the whites had been of several years' standing. Immediately after Dunmore's expedition, the people inhabiting the exposed frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, regarded the position of these Indians as favorable in a military view to their red enemies, the Shawnees, Delawares, and especially the Wyandots. Their villages on the Muskingum lay directly on the war-path of the Northwestern Indians, and the corn which they raised necessarily afforded sustenance to the warrior on his way to the settlements. So, on his return, he probably rested himself in the Moravian cabins, ate their food and perhaps exchanged a portion of his plunder. They showed the same hospitality to traders, and in case a party of whites had passed that way, would undoubtedly have shown them equal kindness. Weak, peaceable, and opposed to contention, they could do no otherwise than to succor all who came to their villages.

In the fall of 1781 this feeling of dissatisfaction had become so strong that a party of men, chiefly from the Monongahela, under the command of Col. Williamson, marched to their towns determined that they should remove from the Muskingum. When Williamson arrived at Gnadenhuttan, others, as related, had previously been there with an armed force for the same purpose, and had succeeded in their object. A few persons were still at the Moravian towns, who had been stripped of their property by the Wyandots, and that branch of the Delawares at enmity with the whites. They were taken and carried as prisoners to Pittsburgh, where they remained during the winter.

On the 18th of February, 1782, Henry Fink and his son John were assaulted by the Indians at the Buchanan settlement, where John was killed. In the latter part of the same month, William Wallace, who lived above Wheeling on the Ohio, with his wife and five children, were killed, and John Carpenter was made prisoner. This was probably the work of a party of Wyandots, but was charged upon the Moravian Indians or persons whom they sustained and harbored. Several murders and arrests had taken place on Buffalo creek, late in the fall or early in the winter, and for all these acts the Christian Indians were held responsible. In fact, a prisoner who escaped is said to have charged the affair on Buffalo creek upon them directly. Finally on the night after the prisoners taken by Williamson and his men in the fall, were released from Fort Pitt, the family of Mr. Monteurs were all killed or made prisoners in the settlement adjacent to the fort. The people no longer hesitated to undertake the work of revenge, and early in March an irregular force collected on the Ohio at the Mingo Bottoms of about 100 men.

Their confessed object was to capture and remove the Christian Delawares and destroy their fields and houses. Many of them, however, entertained a deadly hostility within their bosoms. They moved on with rapidity, and on the morning of the 7th of March arrived within a mile of Gnadenhuttan, which lay upon both banks of the river.

Unfortunately it so happened that, although the villages had been unoccupied all the winter, at this moment about 150 of the Moravians were there. In the severity of the season among their red captors, they had suffered severely for the want of corn, while large quantities still remained in their old fields on the Muskingum. They had been permitted to make a temporary visit to their once happy homes for the purpose of gathering a supply of food. They were engaged in the fields when the whites arrived. The latter deferred the attack on that portion of the village on the eastern shore until one-half the men had crossed to the other side. As the river was high and contained floating ice, it was with difficulty they were enabled to make the passage. A young man by the name of Slaughter, seeing a small canoe on the west shore, swam across and brought it back with him, but it proved to be only a large sap-trough, which would carry but two men at a time. They concluded at once to place their clothes, ammunition, etc., in the trough and swim the river without delay. This was soon accomplished, and they stole unseen by the Indians upon the western bank. Both parties extended around the town, enclosing it within their lines.

Another account* of this affair states that in the morning the men were divided into equal parties, one of which was to cross the river about a mile above the town. The other party was divided into three divisions, one of which was to take a circuit in the woods, and reach the river a little distance below the town on the east side; another division was to fall into the middle of the town, and a third was to enter at its upper end. When sixteen of the party, designed to make the attack, had crossed the river, their two sentinels discovered an Indian whose name was Shabosh. One of them broke one of his arms by a shot; the other sentinel then fired and killed him. These heroes then scalped and tomahawked him. Fearing that the firing of the guns which killed Shabosh would lead to an instant discovery, they sent word to the party designed to attack the town to move on instantly, which they did. In the meantime the small party, which had crossed the river, marched to the main town on the west side. Here they found a large company of Christian Indians gathering the corn which they had left in their fields the preceding fall, when driven away by the British Indians of Sandusky. On the arrival of the murderers at the town, they professed peace and

* Early History of the West, pp. 204-5.

good will to the Christian Indians, and informed them that they had come to take them to Fort Pitt for their safety. The Christian Indians, not doubting their sincerity in the least, walked up to them, and thanked them for being so kind, delivered up their arms and appeared to be highly delighted with the prospect of their removal, and began with all speed to prepare victuals for the white men, and for themselves on their journey.

To resume our account taken from the *American Pioneer*:—
“The other party, in surrounding the eastern village saw a woman skulking through the brush, who was shot also, and proved to be the wife of the Indian—Shabosh—who had been killed on the west side of the stream. A few were killed in passing the river, but the remainder offered no resistance. The people at Gnadenhuttan being thus secured and without arms of which they had been deceitfully deprived, and which, had they been in possession of, they could not conscientiously and probably would not have attempted to resort to them for defense. They were then collected in two log houses and made prisoners. A party was dispatched to Schoenbrunn and Salem to practice the same deception with similar success. A boy who had witnessed the imprisonment at the latter place, escaped to Schoenbrunn and saved those at that place from a horrible fate. The half savage troops now avowed their determination to dispatch every Indian in their power. A portion, however, opposed the act with tears and remonstrances, but an officer having no more influence than a man, the matter was referred to a vote of the mass. When Col. Williamson requested those who were in favor of life to step to the front, only sixteen moved from the ranks, and the doom of the wretched Moravians was fixed. They were ordered to prepare for death. That portion of the company who were determined upon blood, impatient for the butchery, rushed in among them as they knelt in prayer and supplications of forgiveness from heaven for their transgressions. From the time they were placed in the guard house they foresaw their fate, and began their devotions of singing hymns, praying and exhorting each other to place a firm reliance in the mercy of the Savior of men. On being accused of aiding the hostile Indians they declared their innocence. They were told that they had the property of the white people in their possession. They were prepared to render a satisfactory account of every article—where or from what trader they had purchased it. But the number of horses and other property which the Christian Indians possessed was an object with these murderers who concluded that when they killed the Indians the country would be theirs; and the sooner this was done the better. When the poor creatures were told that they must die, finding that all entreaties for the preservation of their lives were of no avail, they united in beseeching a short respite that they

might prepare themselves for death, which request was at length granted. During the time of their devotions their murderers were consulting on the manner in which they should put them to death. Some were for setting fire to the houses they were in and burning them alive, others wanted to take their scalps home with them as a signal of victory; while others remonstrated against either of these plans, declaring that they never would be guilty of murdering a people whose innocence was so satisfactorily evinced; and these proposed to set them at liberty, or if they would not do that, at least to take them as prisoners and deliver them up to the proper authority; but, finding that they could not prevail on these monsters to spare their lives, they wrung their hands, and calling God to witness that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Christian Indians, they withdrew to some distance from the scene of bloodshed.

"While they were engaged in these pious duties the murderers, impatient to make a beginning, came to them, as we have already stated, and inquiring whether they were ready to die; they answered in the affirmative, adding. 'That they had commended their immortal souls to God who had given them the assurance in their hearts that He would receive their souls.' While the prayer was still breathing from their lips, and the hymn of praise was still lingering on their tongues, one blood-thirsty villain took up a cooper's mallet, saying 'How exactly this will do for the business,' and continued knocking down one after another, until he counted fourteen that he had killed with his own hands. Handing the instrument of death to one of his fellow murderers, he said: '*My arm fails me! Go on in the same way! I think I have done pretty well!*'"

"In another house, where mostly women and children were confined, Judith, a remarkably pious, aged widow, was the first victim. Christina, who had formerly lived with the sisters in Bethlehem, Penn., and spoke English and German equally well, fell on her knees and begged for life in vain. Only two lads escaped, each between fifteen and sixteen years of age—one hiding himself in the cellar of the house where the women and children were murdered, beheld the blood run in streams into the cellar, and waiting until night, escaped through a window. The other, receiving but one blow, and not being scalped, recovered his senses; but seeing the murderers return and kill a man by the name of Abel, who was endeavoring to raise himself up, he lay still until evening when, the doors being open, he escaped into the woods.

"While we write these lines the very blood boils within our veins at the bare recital of this infamous deed. Its particulars are too horrid to relate. In addition to what is narrated, it is sufficient to say that in a few minutes these two slaughter-houses,

as they were called, exhibited in their ghastly interior the mangled, bleeding remains of these poor unfortunate people, of all ages and sexes, from the aged, grey-headed parents, down to the helpless infant clinging to its mother's breast, dishonored by the fatal wounds of the tomahawk, mallet, war-club, spear and scalping knife. The number of the slain was ninety-six; forty-three men, twenty-one women and thirty-four children.

"The Indians in the upper-town Schoenbrunn, ten miles further up the river, were apprised of their danger, and providentially made their escape just in time to avoid the fate of their brethren below. A new division of the members arrived at Schoenbrunn just after the Indians left, but finding the place deserted took what plunder they could find, and returned to their companions. After the work of death was finished and the plunder secured, all the buildings in the town were set on fire, and the slaughter houses among the rest. The dead bodies were thus consumed in ashes. They then returned to the settlements and proceeded to Pittsburgh, where, on the opposite side of the Ohio river, they attacked the camps of the peaceable Delaware chiefs, with a number of friendly families, all under the protection of the government; killed a number, and among them a promising young chief, and went off. Fortunately the chief Gillelmund and others, saved their lives by taking to the river, and reaching the town."

There have been some who have attempted to act as apologists for those who were engaged in this horrid affair, but their efforts to palliate the enormity of this tragedy have only resulted in adding condemnation instead of excuse. Would that the mantle of charity was broad enough to mitigate the just judgment of humanity in reference to this outrage; but, alas, truth compels the sad conclusion in all fair and impartial minds that it was murder most foul, unprovoked and audacious.

The massacre of the Moravian Indians was foreseen and recognized by the settlers on the frontier as initiatory of a fearful and avenging warfare, as the indignant Delawares, Shawnees and Wyandots would surely find vent for their fury in visiting condign punishment upon the settlements by way of retaliation. And this proved to be only too true. The savages soon broke loose upon the frontier, visiting it with massacre, fire, plundering and captivity.

All of the settlements in the upper Ohio valley were in a state of continued alarm, and most of the settlers had abandoned their homes and gone into the forts for protection. During the day they worked their small clearings while sentinels stood guard to watch against a sudden surprise from the savages, carrying their guns with them to the fields, where they were

stacked for use in case of an emergency which might occur at any moment.

Gen. Irvine was appointed to the command of the western military department in September, 1781. Soon after his arrival at Fort Pitt, having made himself acquainted with the prevailing state of affairs, he addressed a letter to Col. Shepherd, of Ohio county, calling a convention of the county commandants and the officers of militia to consult as to the best means to be adopted for the defense of the frontier. After a full and free discussion had been indulged in a plan was adopted by which the militia was to patrol the east side of the Ohio from Pittsburgh to Wheeling and take every precaution to prevent the incursions of the Indians. To the extent proposed this was a wise plan. But along a frontier of such length a limited number of militiamen could not effectually guard against their inroads, for in spite of all their vigilance, roving bands would watch their opportunity to cross the river, which they did, and suddenly accomplished the object of their visitation, and then hastily retreated to the western side.

Under these circumstances a general sentiment prevailed among those on the border to the effect that the most efficacious manner in which to secure safety, was by carrying the war into the enemy's country. Hence a meeting of the settlers was called, which was held at Wheeling, one of the objects of which was to further this scheme. It received the approval of Gen. Irvine, and after due deliberation it was determined that a force should be raised to march to Sandusky and destroy the Wyandot towns, and that the place of rendezvous should be at Mingo Bottoms. This expedition was composed wholly of volunteers.

The day which had been appointed for their gathering was the 20th of May, but it was several days after this before the completed force arrived. The men who collected here were from the upper portion of Virginia bordering on the Ohio river, and from Westmoreland and Washington counties, Penn. Col. William Crawford, of Westmoreland county, was elected commander, and Col. Williamson, second in command. Dr. John Knight was appointed surgeon, and Jonathan Zane and John Slover, guides.

The little army began its march on the 25th day of May, 1782, in four columns in the straightest line for Sandusky, distant 150 miles. They numbered nearly 500 men, and each man owned his own horse, equipments and clothing. We have the authority of Doddridge for saying that Col. Crawford did not seek the position in which he was placed, and when notified of his election it is said that he accepted it with apparent reluctance. Crawford was the friend and agent of Washington. He received

from Washington a colonel's commission in the revolution, as a reward for his efforts and energy in behalf of the cause of his country at the very commencement of the revolution.

The army followed along the trail which had been traced by Williamson at the time he marched against the Moravian Indians. One of their encampments was at one of the Moravian towns which had been burned and plundered by Williamson's forces. In the fields they still found plenty of corn hanging on the stalks, with which they fed their horses during the night they encamped there. Shortly after their arrival, three men who had walked out of the camp in company discovered two Indians. The three fired at one of them, but their shots proved to be harmless and the Indians made good their escape.

As soon as this news was communicated in camp, a rush was made by a large portion of the men in the most excited and tumultuous manner to see what had happened. This want of discipline upon the part of his men was the cause of great agitation to Col. Crawford, who became depressed and entertained a presentiment of evil, and that defeat must certainly follow. The murder of the Moravians had caused the Indians to be on the alert to guard against surprises on the part of the whites. There was not a settlement on the Ohio from Pittsburgh to Grave creek, below Wheeling, which was left unobserved. They knew the number of the forces under Crawford and their destination, and visited every encampment as soon as it was vacated, and saw from their writings on the trees and scraps of paper lying around which had been carelessly thrown down, that "no quarter was to be given to any Indian, whether man, woman or child."

The two Indians to whom we have referred above, were spies, engaged in watching the movements of the troops. On the 6th of June, twelve days after beginning their march, they reached the site of one of the Moravian villages on one of the branches of the Sandusky river. Here, instead of meeting with Indians as they had suspected, they met with nothing but a bare scene of desolation, the ruins of a few huts alone giving evidence that it had been the residence of those whom it was their intention to destroy.

Puzzled by this discovery and having no well formed plan as to their movements, they resolved to hold a council, the result of the deliberations of which was that they would one day more continue their march in the direction of Upper Sandusky, and if they did not succeed in reaching the town in the specified time that they would then beat a hasty retreat. At this council Jonathan Zane advised a retreat at once, giving weighty reasons for his advice, which impressed themselves with great force upon the mind of Col. Crawford, who acquiesced in them. But he was overruled by his officers, a majority of whom were in favor of

pressing forward. The march was commenced on the following morning through the plains of Sandusky, and continued until between two and three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, when the troops in advance were furiously attacked by the Indians and driven in. The plain where the attack took place was covered with high grass in which the Indians lay concealed. At the time the Indian forces were about entering a piece of woods which was almost entirely surrounded by open ground, but they were partially checked in accomplishing their purpose by a rapid movement on the part of the whites. Heavy firing at once commenced on both sides. From a partial possession of the woods which the Indians had gained in the outset, they were in a short time dislodged by the whites. The next move of the Indians was to gain possession of a portion of the woods on the right flank of Col. Crawford, but this they were prevented from accomplishing by the vigilance of Major Leet, who had command of the right wing. The firing, which was heavy and continuous, was kept up until dark, when it ceased, and both armies laid on their arms during the night. Large fires were kindled along the line of battle on each side, the armies lying some distance in the background, to prevent being surprised by a night attack. During the fight in the afternoon several of Col. Crawford's men were killed and wounded. How many of the Indians had suffered it was impossible to tell, but certainly as many of them as the whites.

On the following morning the army occupied the same ground which they did on the preceding day. During the day no attack was made by the Indians, until evening, but they were noticed to be traversing the plains in various directions, busily engaged, probably in carrying away their dead and wounded.

During the morning of this day a council of officers was held and a retreat was resolved upon as the only means of saving the army. Reinforcements for the Indians appeared to be pouring in throughout the entire day. In the meantime preparations for retreat were being made on the part of the whites, by interring the dead, lighting fires over their graves to prevent discovery and making arrangements for carrying off the wounded. It was ordered that the retreat should not commence until some time in the course of the night. By some means the Indians were made aware of the intended retreat, and just as the sun went down attacked the whites in force and with great fury, in every direction, except Sandusky. When the line of march was formed and the retreat had commenced, the guides wisely took the direction of Sandusky, which was the only opening in the Indian lines, and which afforded the only opportunity of concealment. The army had marched about a mile in this direction when it wheeled about to the left, and by a circuitous route gained be-

fore daylight of the following morning the trail by which they had come. Their march was continued the whole of that day without interruption except the firing of a few harmless shots by the Indians at the rear guard. As night came on they halted, built fires, prepared and ate their suppers, secured their horses, and tired and jaded, resigned themselves to sleep, without stationing a single sentinel for their security. In the midst of this carelessness on their part, they might easily have been taken by surprise and cut off by the Indians, who, however, failed to disturb them during the night. The number who retreated in the main body is estimated to have been about 300.

When the retreat was resolved upon conflicting opinions prevailed as to the best means of effecting it. The majority thought it best to keep together in one compact body, while the minority thought it best to break up into small bands and make their way home in different directions, abandoning the route by which they had come. Many, indeed, attempted to do so, acting under the impression that the Indians with their whole force would follow the main body. In this they were sadly mistaken, as the Indians instead of pursuing the main body, followed the small parties with such celerity that few of them escaped.

The only successful detachment was that composed of about forty men in number who were under the command of Williamson, who late in the night of the retreat had managed to break through the Indian lines under a severe fire, and not without loss. These succeeded in overtaking the main body early in the second day of the retreat. For days after the retreat of the whites the Indians covered the whole country from the Sandusky to the Muskingum in pursuit of the small parties, most of whom were overtaken and killed at the time. Some were pursued nearly to the Ohio river, one man by the name of Mills, whose family resided about two miles east of Wheeling, on Wheeling creek, being killed about two miles east of the present site of St. Clairsville, almost in sight of his home.

When the retreat commenced Col. Crawford placed himself at the head of the main body, but had gone only the distance of about a quarter of a mile, when he missed his son John, his son-in-law Maj. Harrison, and his nephews, Maj. Rose and William Crawford. Halting, as the line passed by him, he called for them by name, but there was no response and he failed to find them. After the line had passed him, he attempted to overtake it, but was unable to do so owing to the weariness of his horse, resulting from the fatigue to which it had been subjected. Falling in company with Dr. Knight and two others, they traveled all night, first in a northerly direction, and then eastwardly to avoid the pursuit of the Indians, their courses being directed by the north star.

On the day following they fell in company with Capt. John Biggs and Lieut. Ashley, the latter of whom was wounded. Biggs and Ashley were accompanied with two other companions in their retreat. They all encamped together that night. On the following day, about noon, they reached the trail by which the army had advanced upon the Indian towns but a few days preceding, and here a discussion arose as to the propriety of taking that path homewards. Capt. Biggs and Dr. Knight thought it prudent to continue their course through the woods and avoid the trail and all traveled paths, but they were overruled by Col. Crawford, who assured them that the Indians would not urge the pursuit beyond the plains, which they had already left far behind them. Accordingly abandoning the eastern course which they had been following, the party pursued the beaten track. Crawford and Knight, who were together, were about 150 yards in advance, followed by Captain Biggs and his wounded friend, Lieut. Ashley, in the center, both of whom were on horseback, while these were followed by two men on foot.

They had not proceeded more than a mile in this order when several Indians suddenly sprang up within a few yards of Crawford and Knight, and presenting their guns, in plain English ordered them to halt. Knight sought the cover of a tree and leveled his gun at the foremost Indian. Crawford ordered him several times not to fire, which order was reluctantly obeyed by Knight. The Indians advanced to Crawford in the most cordial manner, shook him by the hand, and asked him how he was. Biggs and Ashley halted, while the two men in the rear taking advantage of the situation, took to their heels, running away, and thereby escaping the necessity of a closer acquaintance with the unexpected intruders. Biggs was ordered by Col. Crawford to advance and surrender, but instead of obeying the order, he deliberately took aim at one of the Indians and fired, and then he and Ashley put spurs to their horses and for the time being made good their escape. But the next day they were both overtaken and killed.

Col. Crawford and Dr. Knight, in company with nine other prisoners, under the conduct of a band of Indians, seventeen in number, were marched to the old Sandusky town, about thirty odd miles away. The nine prisoners were placed in advance of Crawford and Knight, who were conducted by two Delaware chiefs named respectively, Pipe and Wingemund. All of the prisoners, including Col. Crawford and Dr. Knight, had been previously daubed black by Pipe. Four of the prisoners at different stages in the journey were tomahawked and scalped, and when the other five arrived at the town, the boys and squaws fell upon them and tomahawked them.

Upon the arrival of Crawford, they surrounded him, and

stripping him naked, compelled him to sit on the ground, near a large fire, around which they gathered a large number of warriors, and a much larger number of squaws and boys. They then beat him severely with sticks and their fists. In a little while after a large stake was placed in the ground and great piles of hickory poles and wood were spread around it. Crawford's arms were then securely bound behind his back, and a strong rope was then used, one end of which was fastened to the ligature between his wrists, and the other was tied to the bottom of the stake. The rope was of sufficient length to permit him to walk around the stake several times and then return. Fire was then applied to the wood which lay in piles at a remove of six or seven yards from the stake.

Col. Crawford, observing these terrible preparations, called to the notorious renegade, Simon Girty, who sat on horseback a few yards distant from the fire, calmly surveying the preparations, and inquired of him whether the Indians intended to burn him. Girty replied, in a nonchalant manner, that such was the case.

Crawford received the information with unflinching firmness, merely remarking that he would endeavor to bear it with fortitude. After the hickory poles had been burnt asunder in the middle, Capt. Pipe slowly arose, and, pausing for a moment, commenced to address the crowd in earnest and energetic tones and with animated gestures, repeatedly and frequently pointing to Crawford, who gave no signs of fear but composedly returned his gaze. When he concluded the assembled crowd gave a loud whoop and then simultaneously rushed upon Crawford. For several seconds the press around him was so great that Dr. Knight could not discern what they were engaged in, but in a short time they had sufficiently scattered so that he could obtain a view of the victim. They had cut off his ears and the blood was flowing in a thick stream down each side of his face. And now commenced a most revolting scene of torture. The warriors amused themselves by shooting charges of powder into his naked body, commencing with the calves of his legs and continuing to his neck. The boys snatched the burning brands from the fire and applied them to his quivering flesh. This caused him to try to elude them by running around the stake, but as fast as he did so to avoid one party of tormentors, he was met at every turn by others with burning brands, red hot irons and rifles loaded with powder only. In the course of a few minutes not less than a hundred charges of powder had been shot into his body, which was now all black and blistered. The squaws would gather up a quantity of coals and hot ashes, and throw them upon his body, so that in a few minutes he had nothing but fire to walk upon.

In this extreme of excruciating agony the unhappy man called aloud upon Girty, who stood coolly by watching his writhing agony, in tones that rang through Knight's brain with maddening effect: "Girty! Girty! shoot me through the heart! Quick! quick!! Do not refuse me!!" "Don't you see I have no gun, Colonel!" replied the monster, bursting into a loud laugh, at the same time turning to an Indian beside him, he uttered some brutal jests upon the naked and miserable appearance of the prisoner.

This terrible scene had now lasted for more than two hours, and Crawford had become much exhausted. He now walked very slowly around the stake, spoke in a subdued tone, and earnestly besought God to look with compassion upon him and pardon his sins. His nerves had lost much of their sensibility, and he no longer shrunk from the burning brands with which they constantly touched him. At length overcome, he sank in a fainting fit upon his face and lay motionless. Instantly an Indian sprang upon his back, knelt lightly upon one knee, made a circular incision with his knife upon the crown of his head, and putting the knife between his teeth tore the scalp off with both hands. When this horrible action was accomplished, an old withered hag bearing a board filled with burning embers, poured them upon the crown of his head, which had been laid bare to the bone. A deep groan escaped from Crawford, who with difficulty arose and with slow and tottering steps walked around the stake. But here let us pause and drop the veil. Suffice it to say that exhausted nature at length gave up the struggle and death at last ended his excruciating agony at a late hour of the night. A thrill of horror at the cruel taking off of Col. Crawford was felt throughout the whole western borders, and caused an involuntary shudder wherever the particulars were made known.

Dr. Knight, the surgeon of the command, was also doomed to death by burning, which was to have taken place at a point about forty miles from Sandusky. He was committed to the care of a young Indian to be taken there. The evening of the first day they had traveled about twenty-five miles when they encamped for the night. During the latter part of the night the gnats became very troublesome, so that they prevented sleep. At the request of the doctor the Indian unbound him so that he might aid the latter in kindling a fire to drive them away. The Indian complied. While the Indian was down on the ground bending over, blowing the fire into a flame, the doctor caught up a burning stick with which he struck the Indian on the head with main might, knocking him into the fire. Gathering himself up, he ran off at the top of his speed, making night hideous with his dismal howls. Seizing the Indian's rifle he pursued after him.

In attempting to cock it, he drew back the lock with such force as to break the main spring, and he was compelled to cease his efforts to overtake him. The doctor successfully made his way home, which he reached in about three weeks, nearly exhausted from his long tramp and want of food, having subsisted on such roots, berries and young birds as he was fortunate enough to secure.

John Slover, who had been a prisoner among the Indians, and who was one of the guides of the ill-fated force, was, with two others taken prisoners, and they were sent to one of the Shawnee towns on the Scioto. One of his companions — a prisoner — was murdered on the way, having first been painted black, and then compelled to run the gauntlet, when they struck and cut him with their tomahawks, shot his naked body black with loads of powder, and burned holes in it with red hot irons. His other companion — a prisoner — was sent to another town to be burned, soon after their arrival at their destination. Slover was kept for several days after their arrival, a closely guarded prisoner. During this period of his captivity they sought to obtain from him full information concerning the whites. As he understood several Indian languages, and among them the Shawnees, this they could do in their own tongue. But the information he communicated to them was not very encouraging. At length a council of the warriors was held and he was condemned to be burned.

When the eventful day arrived he was stripped naked and blackened according to their custom — his arms pinioned behind him — and a rope was placed about his neck. He was then conducted to the waiting post, and the flames were kindled around him. Just as they were about to commence to apply their tortures to him, a sudden storm accompanied with thunder and lightning occurred. The wind blew a fearful hurricane, the rain fell in torrents and the burning flames were extinguished. The savages in dire amazement stood around in utter silence and awe stricken. They resolved to postpone the deed, saying: "We will wait until to-morrow morning and take a day in burning him." He was then unbound from the stake and made to sit down while they danced around him until late into the night, at the same time beating and wounding him with their tomahawks and clubs. When they had made an end he was escorted to an empty hut, where a rope was fastened around his neck and tied to a beam. His arms were fastened behind him with a cord. A board was given him to lie down upon and he was guarded by three warriors. During the night they repeatedly taunted him, and asked him how he would like to "eat fire to-morrow." They continued their talking and smoking until after midnight when they laid down and slept. Slover, who all along had resolved on making a desperate effort to escape at the first favorable op-

portunity which presented, now made an effort to unloose himself, and soon unloosed his arms from the cord by which they were bound. At this moment one of the warriors awoke and got up and stirred the fire. Fearing that an examination would take place should he make any movement, he lay perfectly quiet, feigning deep sleep. The Indian in a short time laid down again, when hope revived again. In due time he attempted to unloose the rope from his neck, and to this end he began gnawing it with his teeth, but to no purpose, as it was very thick and hard, being made of the hide of a buffalo. Again hope began to desert him and despair began to take hold of him. The dawn of day was now about breaking, and he resolved to make another and final effort, when, by pulling the rope with his fingers, to his astonishment it became unloosed, and slipping it over his head he stepped over the sleeping warriors and sprang over a fence into a cornfield. Here he came across a squaw with four children sleeping under a tree. Changing his course he came out upon a tract where a number of horses were feeding, and catching one he took the cord from his arm, with which he had been tied, and used it for a halter, and appropriating a piece of an old quilt which he found lying on the ground, for a saddle, mounted and rode off at full speed. It was now daylight, but his horse, which was strong and swift, was rapidly widening the distance between him and his captors. By noon he was many miles distant from the scene of his captivity. After traveling a few hours longer his horse gave out, abandoning which he ran on foot until he also was exhausted, and was compelled to stop and take a rest. During his flight he had traveled about seventy-five miles, fear lending wings to his feet and hope urging him onward. As a spy and scout he was perfectly acquainted with the country, and in three days he succeeded in reaching Wheeling in safety, but nearly famished with hunger and exhausted with fatigue. This was the last campaign which took place during the revolution from our western borders.

But hostilities on the part of the Indians did not cease, but they continued with small expeditions to harass the west, particularly the borders of Kentucky. The inhabitants of the exposed sections established numerous posts on the frontiers, which were garrisoned by a few men to watch the enemy and intercept them in their progress or spread the alarm of their approach. These precautions availed and finally the conclusion was reached that a stop to their aggressions could only be affected by a successful offensive war. Hence, in the fall of 1789, congress authorized the president to call out the militia and break the power of the savages. Accordingly, Washington directed Gen. St. Clair, then governor of the northwest territory, to call out 1,500 men from the western counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and proceed

directly against the settlements of the hostile Indians on the Maumee.

In the summer of 1790, Virginia furnished her quota, which consisted of 500 men who rendezvoused at Elizabethtown (now Moundsville), in Marshall county, W. Va., from whence they were carried in batteaux to Fort Washington (Cincinnati), from whence the army took up its line of march. The men from Virginia were most of them accustomed to Indian warfare, being well acquainted with all their arts of strategy and deception. The march from Fort Washington was commenced on the 17th of September, and continued a distance of about twenty miles from Fort Washington, where he erected a fort on the east bank of the Miami, which he called Fort Hamilton. After completing and garrisoning this fort, he continued his march to the northward another twenty miles, where he established another fort, which he called Fort Jefferson. Here he also left a garrison and continued his march. The cutting of roads for the passage of troops and artillery necessarily consumed much time, and while it was in progress, small parties of the enemy were frequently seen watching the movements of the army. When nearing the Indian villages, sixty of the militia deserted in a body. To prevent the evil influence of this example, Gen. St. Clair dispatched an officer to bring them back, while the rest of the army continued their forward movement. The main army at this time was about 1,400 strong.

On the night before the 3rd of November, Gen. St. Clair encamped near the Great Miami village. Here he threw up slight works for the purpose of protecting the baggage, etc., of his troops, and notwithstanding the reduced condition of the forces under his command, determined on the following morning to march directly to the attack.

*The troops were encamped in two lines, with an interval of seventy yards between them, which was all that the nature of the ground would permit. The battalions of Majors Butler, Clark and Patterson, composed the front line, the whole under the orders of Major General Butler, an officer of high and merited reputation. The front of the line was covered by a creek, its right flank by the river, and its left by a strong corps of infantry. The second line was composed of the battalions of Majors Gaither and Badinger, and the second regiment under the command of Lieut. Col. Darke. This line like the other was secured upon one flank by the river, and upon the other by the cavalry and pickets.† The night passed away

* Early History of the West, pp. 272-281.

† The militia, amounting to about 250 men, were thrown across the creek, about 300 yards in front of the first line and a small detachment of regulars, under the orders of Capt. Slough, were pushed still farther in advance, in order to prevent the possibility of surprise.

without alarm. The sentinels were vigilant*, and the officers upon the alert. A few hours before day, St. Clair caused the reveille to be beaten, and the troops to be paraded under arms, under the expectation that an attack would probably be made. In this situation they continued until daylight, when they were dismissed to their tents. Some were endeavoring to snatch a few minutes' sleep, others were preparing for the expected march, when suddenly the report of a rifle was heard from the militia, a few hundred yards in front, which was quickly followed by a sharp, irregular volley in the same direction. The drums instantly beat to arms, the officers fled in every direction, and in two minutes the troops were formed in order of battle. Presently the militia rushed into camp in the utmost disorder, pursued by swarms of Indians, who, in many places, were mingled with them, and were cutting them down with their tomahawks.†

Major Butler's battalion received the first shock, and was thrown into disorder by the tumultuous flight of the militia, who, in their eagerness to escape, bore down everything before them. Here Major General Butler had stationed himself, and here St. Clair directed his attention, in order to remedy the confusion which began to spread rapidly through the whole line. The Indians pressed forward with great audacity, and many of them were mingled with the troops before their progress could be checked. Major General Butler was wounded at the first fire, and before he could be dressed an Indian who had penetrated the ranks of the regiment, ran up to the spot where he lay and tomahawked him before his attendants could interpose. The desperate savage was instantly killed. By great exertions Butler's battalion was restored to order and the heavy and sustained fire of the first line compelled the enemy to pause and shelter themselves.

This interval, however, endured for a moment. An invisible but tremendous fire quickly opened upon the whole front of the encampment, which rapidly extended to the rear, and encompassed the troops on both sides. St. Clair, who at that time was worn down with fever, and unable to mount his horse, nevertheless, as is universally admitted, exerted himself with a courage and presence of mind worthy of a better fate.

* Capt. Slough was alarmed in the course of the night by the appearance of an unusual number of the enemy in his front, and upon both flanks. A short time before day they had collected in such numbers as seriously to alarm him, and induced him to fall back upon the militia. He instantly informed Gen. Butler of the circumstance, but that officer unfortunately slighted the intelligence and did not deem it of sufficient importance to inform the commander-in-chief.

† In a letter written at Fort Washington, April 20, 1792, it is said "two of our men have lately made their escape from the Miami villages and arrived here, who give account of a mock fight, lately exhibited by the Indians assembled there, to divert the squaws and children. It was in ridicule of Gen. St. Clair's disposition of his troops on the 4th of November last, and of his flight before the Indians, who pursued him and his army, whilst the others plundered the camp. They gave out that they mean to celebrate this event annually by a like sham fight, and a great dance to be called St. Clair's Fight Dance."

He instantly directed his litter to the right of the rear line, where the great weight of the fire fell, and where the slaughter particularly of the officers, was terrible. Here Darke commanded, an officer who had been trained to hard service during the revolutionary war, and who was gallantly exerting himself to check the consternation which was evidently beginning to prevail. St. Clair ordered him to make a rapid charge with the bayonet and rouse the enemy from their covert. The order was instantly obeyed, and at first, apparently, with great effect. Swarms of dusky bodies arose from the high grass, and fled before the regiment with every mark of consternation; but as the troops were unable to overtake them, they quickly recovered their courage and kept so fatal a retreating fire that the exhausted regulars were compelled in their turn to give away. This charge, however, relieved that particular point for some time; but the weight of the fire was transferred to the center of the first line, where it threatened to annihilate everything within its range. There, in turn, the unfortunate general was borne by his attendants and ordered a second appeal to the bayonet. This second charge was made with the same impetuosity as the first, and with the same momentary success. But the attack was instantly shifted to another point, when the same charge was made, and the same result followed. The Indians would retire before them, still keeping up a most fatal fire and the Americans were uniformly compelled to retire in turn. St. Clair brought up the artillery in order to sweep the bushes with grape, but the horses and artillerymen were destroyed by the terrible fire of the enemy, before any effect could be produced. They were instantly manned afresh from the infantry, and again the defenders were swept off.

The slaughter had become prodigious. Four-fifths of the officers and one-half of the men were either killed or wounded. The ground was covered with bodies, and the little ravine which led to the river was running with blood. The fire of the enemy had not in the least slackened, and the troops were falling in heaps before it in every part of the camp. To have attempted to maintain his position longer, could only have led to the total destruction of his force, without the possibility of annoying the enemy, who never showed themselves unless when charged, and whose number was equal to his own, if not greater. The men were evidently much disheartened, but the officers, who were chiefly veterans of the revolution, still maintained a firm countenance, and exerted themselves with unavailing heroism to the last. Under these circumstances St. Clair determined to save the lives of the survivors if possible, and for that purpose collected the remnants of several battalions into one corps, and at the head of which he ordered Lieut.-Col. Darke to make an impetuous charge upon the enemy, in order to open a passage for

the remainder of the army. Darke executed his orders with great spirit, and drove the Indians before him to the distance of a quarter of a mile. The remainder of the army instantly rushed through the opening, in order to gain the road, Maj. Clarke with the remnant of his battalion bringing up the rear, and endeavoring to keep the Indians in check.*

The retreat soon degenerated into a total rout. Officers who strived to arrest the panic only sacrificed themselves. Clarke, the leader of the rear guard, soon fell in this dangerous service, and his corps was totally disorganized. Officers and soldiers were now mingled without the slightest regard of discipline, and "*Save himself who can,*" was the order of the day.† The pursuit at first was keen; but the temptation afforded by plunder of the camp, soon brought them back, and the wearied, wounded and disheartened fugitives, were permitted to retire from the field unmolested. The rout continued as far as Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the scene of action. The action lasted more than three hours, during the whole of which time the fire was heavy and incessant. The loss in proportion to the number engaged, was enormous, and is unparalleled, except in Braddock's disastrous defeat. Sixty-eight officers were killed on the spot, and twenty-eight wounded. Out of 900 privates who went into action, 550 were left dead on the field, and many of the survivors were wounded. Gen. St. Clair was untouched, although eight balls passed through his hat and clothes, and several horses were killed under him. The Indian loss was reported by themselves as fifty-eight killed and wounded, which was probably underrated, as they were never visible after the first attack, until charged with the bayonet. At Fort Jefferson the fugitives were joined by the first regiment, who, as noticed above, had been detached in pursuit of the deserters. Here a council of war was called which terminated in the unanimous opinion that the junction with the first regiment did not justify an attempt upon the enemy, in the present condition of affairs, and that the army should return to Fort Washington without delay. This was accordingly done, and thus ended St. Clair's campaign against the Indians. We notice several private incidents connected with this battle:

William Kennon, of Fleming county, Ky., at that time a

* General St. Clair's horses were killed as well as those of his aids. He was placed by a few friends upon an exhausted pack-horse, that could not be pricked out of a walk, and in this condition followed in the rear of the troops.

† There were in the army at the commencement of the action about 150 women, of whom fifty-six were killed in the battle and the remainder were made prisoners by the enemy, except a small number who reached Fort Washington. One of the survivors lived until recently (1846), in Cincinnati, a Mrs. Catherine Miller. This woman ran ahead of the whole army, in their flight from the field of battle. Her large quantity of long red hair floated in the breeze, which the soldiers followed through the woods, as their *forerunner*, that moved rapidly forward, to the place of their ultimate destination.—Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 142.

young man eighteen years of age, was attached to a company of rangers, that accompanied the regular force. He had long been remarkable for strength and activity. On the evening preceding the action his corps had been advanced, as already observed, a few hundred yards in front of the first line of infantry, in order to give seasonable notice of the enemy's approach. Just as day was dawning, he observed thirty Indians, within 100 yards of the guard fire, advancing cautiously toward the spot where he stood, together with about twenty rangers, the rest being considerably in the rear. Supposing it to be a mere scouting party, as usual, and not superior in number to the rangers, he sprang forward a few paces in order to shelter himself in a spot of peculiarly rank grass, and firing with a quick aim upon the foremost Indian, he instantly fell flat upon his face, and proceeded with all possible rapidity to reload his gun, not doubting for a moment but that the rangers would hold their position and support him. The Indians, however, rushed forward in such overwhelming masses, that the rangers were compelled to fly with precipitation, leaving young Kennon in total ignorance of his danger. Fortunately the captain of his company had observed him, when he threw himself in the grass, and suddenly shouted aloud, "Run Kennon, or you are a dead man." He instantly sprang to his feet, and beheld Indians within ten feet of him, while his company was already more than 100 yards in front.

Not a moment was to be lost. He darted on with every muscle strained to its utmost, and was pursued by a dozen of the enemy, with loud yells. He at first pressed straight forward to the usual fording place in the creek, which ran between the rangers and the main army, but several Indians who had passed him before he arose from the grass, threw themselves in the way, and completely cut him off from the rest. By the most powerful exertions he had thrown the whole body of pursuers behind him, with the exception of one young chief, probably Masshawa, who displayed a swiftness and perseverance equal to his own. In the circuit which Kennon was obliged to take, the race continued for more than 400 yards. The distance between them was about eighteen feet, which Kennon could not increase, nor his adversary diminish. Each for the time put his whole soul into the race. Kennon, as far as he was able, kept his eyes upon the motions of his pursuer, lest he should throw the tomahawk which he held aloft in a menacing attitude, and at length finding that no other Indian was at hand, he determined to try the mettle of his pursuer in a different manner, and felt for his tomahawk in order to turn at bay. It had escaped from its sheath, however, while he lay in the grass, and his hair had almost lifted the cap from his head when he saw himself totally disarmed. As he had slackened his pace for a moment, the Indian was almost in reach

of him when he recommenced the race, but the idea of being without arms, lent wings to his flight, and for the first time he saw himself gaining ground. He had the motions of his pursuer too closely, however, to pay proper attention to the nature of the ground before him, and he suddenly found himself in front of a large tree which had been blown down, and upon which brush and other impediments lay to the height of nine feet or more.

The Indian, who heretofore had not uttered the slightest sound, now gave a short, quick yell, as if sure of his victim. Kennon had not a moment to deliberate. He must clear the impediment at a leap or perish. Putting his whole soul into the effort, he bounded into the air, with a power which astonished himself, and clearing limbs, brush and everything else, alighted in perfect safety upon the other side.

A loud yell of astonishment burst from the pursuer, who had not the hardihood to attempt the same feat. Kennon, as may be imagined, had no leisure to enjoy his triumph, but dashing into the bed of the creek, upon the bank of which his feat had been performed, where the high banks would shield him from the fire of the enemy, he ran up the stream, until a convenient place afforded for crossing, and rejoined the rangers in the rear of the encampment, panting from the fatigue of exertions which have seldom been surpassed. No breathing time was allowed him, however. The attack instantly commenced, and as we have already observed, was maintained for three hours with unabated fury.

When the retreat commenced Kennon was attached to Maj. Clarke's battalion, and had the dangerous service of protecting the rear. This corps quickly lost its commander and was completely disorganized. Kennon was among the hindmost when the flight commenced, but exerting those same powers which had saved him in the morning, he quickly gained the front, passing several horsemen in the flight. Here he beheld a private in his own company, an intimate acquaintance, lying upon the ground with his thigh broken, and in tones of the most piercing distress, implored each horseman who hurried by him to take him up behind him. As soon as he beheld Kennon coming up on foot, he stretched out his arms and called loud upon him to save him. Notwithstanding the imminent peril of the moment, his friend could not reject so passionate an appeal, but seizing him in his arms, he placed him upon his back, and ran in that manner for several hundred yards. Horseman after horseman passed them, all of whom refused to relieve him of his burden.

At length the enemy was gaining upon him so fast that Kennon saw their death certain, unless he relinquished his burden. He accordingly told his friend that he had used every possible exertion to save his life, but in vain; that he must relax his hold

around his neck, or they would both perish. The unhappy wretch heedless of every remonstrance, still clung convulsively to his back, and impeded his exertions until the foremost of the enemy, armed with tomahawks alone, were within twenty yards of them. Kennon then drew his knife from his sheath and cut the fingers of his companion, thus compelling him to relinquish his hold. The unhappy man rolled upon the ground in utter helplessness, and Kennon beheld him tomahawked before he had gone thirty yards. Relieved of his burden, he darted forward with an activity which once more brought him to the van. Here he again was compelled to neglect his own safety in order to attend that of others.

Gov. Madison, of Kentucky, who afterward commanded the corps which defended themselves so honorably at the river Raisin—a man who united the most amiable temper to the highest courage—was at that time a subaltern in St. Clair's army, and being a man of infirm constitution, was totally exhausted by the exertions of the morning, and was now sitting down calmly upon a log, awaiting the approach of his enemies. Kennon hastily accosted him and enquired the cause of his delay. Madison pointing to a wound which had bled profusely, replied that he was unable to walk farther, and had no horse. Kennon instantly ran back to a spot where he had seen an exhausted horse grazing, caught him without difficulty, and having assisted Madison to mount, walked by his side until they were out of danger. Fortunately, the pursuit soon ceased, as the plunder of the camp presented irresistible attractions to the enemy.

Lieut.-Col. Darke's escape was almost miraculous. Possessed of a tall, striking figure, in full uniform, and superbly mounted, he led three desperate charges against the enemy, in each of which he was a conspicuous mark. His clothes were cut in many places, but he escaped only with a slight flesh wound. In the last charge Ensign Wilson, a young officer, of only seventeen years of age, was shot through the heart, and fell a few paces in the rear of his regiment, which was then rapidly returning to their original position. An Indian, attracted by his rich uniform, sprung up from the grass and scalped him. Col. Darke, who was at that time in the rear of the regiment, suddenly faced about, dashed at the Indian on horseback, and cleft his skull with his broadsword, drawing upon himself by the daring act, a rapid discharge of more than a dozen rifles. He, however, regained his regiment in safety, being compelled to leave young Wilson to the enemy.

A party of Chickasaws were on their march to join St. Clair, but did not arrive in time to share in the action. One warrior, alone, of that nation was present, and displayed the most admirable address and bravery. He positively refused to stand in the

ranks with the soldiers, declaring that the "Shawnees would shoot him down like a pigeon." But he took refuge behind a log, a few yards in front of Butler's battalion, and discharged his rifle eleven times at the enemy, with unerring accuracy. He could not be persuaded, however, to forego the pleasure of scalping each Indian as he fell, and on the eleventh time, he was himself shot by the enemy, and scalped in turn.

The leader of the Indian army in this bloody engagement, was a chief of the Mississago tribe, whose name was "Little Turtle." Notwithstanding his name, he was at least six feet high, strong, muscular and remarkably dignified in his appearance. He was forty years of age, had seen much service, and had accompanied Gen. Burgoyne in his disastrous invasion. His aspect was harsh, sour and forbidding, and his person during the action, was arrayed in the very extremity of Indian foppery. The plan of attack was concerted by him alone, in opposition to the opinion of almost every other chief.

On the evening of the 8th of November, the broken remains of the army arrived at Fort Washington, worn out, dejected, and mortified at the terrible disaster of their defeat. The unfortunate general was, as usual, assailed from one end of the country to the other, but particularly in Kentucky, with one loud and merciless cry of abuse and even detestation. All the misfortunes of his life, and these were many and bitter, were brought up in array against him. He was reproached with cowardice, treason, imbecility and a disposition to prolong the war, in order to preserve that authority which it gave him. He was charged with sacrificing the lives of his men, and the interests of his country, to his own private ambition. Men who had never fired a rifle, and never beheld an Indian, criticised severely the plan of his encampment and the order of his battle, and in short, all the bitter ingredients, which compose the cup of the unsuccessful general, were drained to the dregs.

It seemed to be a universal and probably a correct rule that, as the general reaps all the glory of success, so in like manner, he should sustain all the disgrace of defeat. A victorious general, whether by a lucky blunder or otherwise, is distinguished for life; and an unfortunate one degraded. No charge in the one case, or excuse in the other, is listened to for a moment. Victory hides every blemish and misfortune obscures every virtue. This is the popular rule for estimating the merits of a leader which, for a time, might elevate a noisy Cleon to the level of Alexander. But the historian decides otherwise. Let us look at the unfortunate St. Clair's conduct, and see whether it deserves the furious and unbounded censure that has been heaped upon it. It is acknowledged that, although attacked suddenly—all Indian attacks are sudden—he was not surprised. His troops

were encamped in order of battle, and formed at a moment's notice.

He cannot be charged with remissness, for he had arrayed them in order of battle three hours before daylight, and they had just been dismissed when the attack commenced. He cannot be charged with incompetency during the action, for all his measures, if allowance be made for the circumstances attending it, were bold, judicious and military. He did not suffer his men to be shot down in their ranks, as in Braddock's case; but made repeated, desperate and unsuccessful charges against the enemy, numbering in force equal to his own. The troops in general behaved with firmness, the officers were the flower of the revolutionary army, and not a man deserted his colors until order was given to retreat. Though the army was composed of so many different troops, the utmost harmony prevailed during the campaign.

The charge of cowardice is unworthy of an answer. It could only be brought by a blind and ignorant populace, stung with rage, as they ever are with defeat, and pouring upon their unhappy victims every reproach which rage, ignorance and the malice of interested demagogues may suggest. It may be observed that Gen. St. Clair always stood high in the opinion of Washington, notwithstanding his repeated misfortunes, and that in his last battle, although worn down by a cruel disease, he exposed his person in every part of the action, delivered his orders with coolness and judgment, and was one of the last who arrived at Fort Jefferson in the retreat.*

On the 12th of December, following, the president sent a message to congress communicating the defeat of St. Clair, and accompanied the same with the following reports received by Maj. Gen. Knox, secretary of war, from that unfortunate general. The first of these is dated—

“FORT WASHINGTON, October 6, 1791.

“SIR: I have now the satisfaction to inform you, that the army moved from Fort Hamilton, the name I have given to the fort on the Miami, on the 4th at eight in the morning, under the command of Gen. Butler. The order of march and encampment I had regulated before, and on the 3d, returned to this place to get up the militia. They marched yesterday and consist of about 300 men, as you will see by the enclosed abstract of the muster. I have reason to believe, however, that at least an equal number will be up there by the 10th, and I have left orders for their following us. The monthly return should have accompanied this letter, but it was not ready when I left camp, and has not been forwarded since. I have hitherto found it impossible

*McClung's Sketches of Western Adventure, pp. 351, 357.

to reduce the officers commanding corps to punctuality in respect to their returns, but they are mending. Our numbers after deducting the garrison of this place, and Fort Hamilton, are about 2,000, exclusive of the militia. I trust I shall find them sufficient; and should the rest of the militia come on, it would make the matter pretty certain. But the season is now so far advanced, that I fear the intermediate posts, which indeed would have been highly necessary, it will be impossible to establish; in that, however, I must be governed by circumstances, of which I will take care that you shall be apprised in due time. Should the enemy come to meet us, which seems to be expected, and be discomfited, there will be no difficulties; but if they expect us at the Miami villages, the business will wear another face, and the intermediate posts become more essential.

"Since the quartermaster has been here and got into his gears, which it took him a little time to do, I am very well satisfied with him and do believe he will answer the description which you were pleased to give me of him; his business seems now to be well arranged. In order to communicate with some degree of certainty with your office, I have directed Capt. Buel, when he arrives, to send a sergeant and twelve men to a house that has been newly erected, half way between this place and Lexington, to each of which two men are to be sent off on every Monday morning to carry dispatches. Those for the war office, or any other public letters, to be put into the hands of Mr. Charles Wilkins, merchant, of Lexington, who has engaged to forward all I have occasion to send regularly once a week; and should you, sir, see proper to use the same route for any of yours, if they are sent to his care, he will forward them to me. I have been led to prefer this channel of communication to that of the river, because it appears to be rather more certain of the two, though it may be a little more tedious, and because desertion continues to prevail among the troops, and the sending of small parties to such a distance gives great opportunity to effect it. Gen. Butler informs me that no less than twenty-one went off the night before the army moved from Fort Hamilton.

"I am this moment setting out for the army, which I hope to overtake to-morrow evening, and will write to you again as soon as may be. With great regard and respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble servant,

"ARTHUR ST. CLAIR."

"Camp, eighty-one miles advanced of Washington, November 1, 1791.

"Sir: — Since I had the honor to write to you on the 21st ult., nothing very material has happened, and, indeed, I am at present so unwell, and have been so for some time past that I could ill detail it if it had happened, not that space of time has been

entirely barren of incidents, but as few of them have been of the agreeable kind, I beg you to accept a sort of a journal account of them, which will be the easiest for me.

"On the 22d the indisposition that had hung about me for some time, appearing as a bilious colic, and sometimes as a rheumatic asthma, to my great satisfaction changed to a gout in the left arm and hand, leaving the breast and stomach perfectly relieved, and the cough which had been excessive entirely gone. This day Mr. Ellis, with sixty militia from Kentucky, joined the army, and brought up a quantity of flour and beef.

"23d. Two men were taken in the act of deserting to the enemy, and one for shooting another soldier and threatening to kill an officer, were hanged upon the grand parade, the whole army being drawn out. Since the army has halted, the country around this, and ahead for fifteen miles, has been well examined; it is a country which, had we arrived a month sooner in it, and with three times the number of animals, they would have been all fat now.

"24th. Named the fort Jefferson (it lies in latitude 40 degrees, 4 minutes and 32 seconds north), and marched the same Indian path serving to conduct us about six miles, and encamped on good ground and an excellent position. A rivulet in front, and a very large prairie which would, at the proper season, afford for a thousand horses on the left. So ill this day that I had much difficulty in keeping with the army.

"25th. Very hard rains last, obliged to halt to-day on account of provisions; for though the soldiery may be kept pretty easy in camp under the expectations of provisions arriving, they cannot bear to march in advance and take none along with them. Received a letter from Mr. Hodgdon by express; 13,000 pounds of flour arrive the 27th.

"26th. A party of militia sent to reconnoitre, fell in with five Indians, and suffered them to slip through their fingers in their camp. Articles to the value of \$22 were found and divided.

The Virginia battalion is melting down very fast, notwithstanding the promises of the men to the officers. Thirteen have been discharged by Col. Darke to-day.

"27th. Gave orders for enlisting the levies, with the condition of serving out their time in the present corps. Payomingo arrived in the camp with his warriors. I was so unwell, could only see him and bid him welcome, but entered on no business—considerable dissatisfaction among the levies about their enlistments.

"28th. Some clothing sent for to Fort Washington for the recruits arrived, was begun to be disturbed, and will have a good effect; but the enlisting of the levies does not meet with the encouragement that might have been expected. It is not only

complained of by the officers, but it is certainly, privately, by some of high rank, and the measure of tempting them with warm clothing, condemned. Mr. Hodgdon writes me that he is sending forward a quantity of woollen overalls and socks, by Gen. Butler's orders. I have ordered them to be deposited at Fort Jefferson. Some few Indians about us, probably those the militia fell in with a day or two ago. Two of the levies were fired upon, about three miles off; one killed; two of the militia likewise, one of them got in and the other missing, supposed to be taken.

"29th. Payomingo and his people accompanied by Capt. Sparks and four good riflemen, gone on a scout; they do not propose to return under ten days unless they sooner succeed in taking prisoners.

"30th. The army moved about 9 o'clock, and with much difficulty made seven miles, having left a considerable part of the tents by the way. The provision made by the quartermaster was not adequate. Three days' flour issued to them. The Indian road still with us. The course this day north, twenty-five degrees west.

"31st. This morning about sixty of the militia deserted. It was at first reported, that about one-half of them had gone off, and that their design was to plunder the convoys, which were upon the road. I detached the first regiment in pursuit of them, with orders to Maj. Hamtramck to send a sufficient guard back with Benham (a commissary), whenever he met with him, and follow them about twenty-five miles below Fort Jefferson, or until he met the second convoy, and then return and join the army. Benham arrived last night; and to-day, November 1st, the army is halted to give the road-cutters an opportunity of getting some distance ahead, and that I might write to you. I am this day considerably recovered, and hope that it will turn out, what I at first expected it would be, a friendly fit of the gout, come to relieve me from every other complaint.

"Yesterday I was favored with yours of the 28th and 29th of September. I have enclosed my communications with the old and new contractors, and their answers. My orders to the post for them are not yet definite; but they will be very soon. In the meantime, I expect they are both at work. With great respect I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

"ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

"P. S. Your letters for Gen. Wilkinson and Gen. Scott, Mr. Jones and Mr. Brown, are sent back, and the public thanks in the names of the president, presented to Gen. Wilkinson agreeably to your directions.

"To the Hon. Maj. Gen. Knox, Secretary of War."

"FORT WASHINGTON, Nov. 9, 1791.

"SIR:—Yesterday afternoon the remains of the army, under my command, got back to this place, and I have now the painful task to give you an account of as warm and unfortunate an action, as almost any which has been fought, in which every corps was engaged and worsted, except the first regiment, that had been detached upon a service I had the honor to inform you of in my last dispatch, and had not joined me.

"On the 3d instant, the army had reached a creek about twelve yards wide, running to the southward of west, which I believe to have been the river St. Mary, which empties itself into the Miami of the lake.* At the Miami village about four o'clock in the afternoon having marched near nine miles, and were encamped upon a very commanding piece of ground, in two lines, having the above mentioned creek in front. The right wing composed of Butler's, Patterson's and Clarke's battalions, commanded by Major-Gen. Butler, formed the first line, and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment commanded by Lieut.-Col. Darke, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow. The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek, a steep bank, and Faulkner's corps; some of the cavalry and their piquets covered the left flank. The militia were thrown over the creek and advanced about one-quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation on the advance of the militia. At this place which I judged to be about fifteen miles distant from the Miami village, I had determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks and everything else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to have attacked the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up; but they did not permit me to execute either, for on the fourth, about half an hour before sunrise, and when the men had been just dismissed from the parade (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before daylight), an attack was made upon the militia—those gave way in a very little time and rushed into camp through Major Butler's battalion, which together with part of Clarke's, threw them into considerable disorder, which notwithstanding the exertions of both, and those officers, was never altogether remedied, the Indians following close at their heels. The fire, however, of the first line checked them, but almost

* St. Clair was of the opinion that his defeat occurred upon St. Mary, and it is so stated in his official dispatch. It is incorrect. The action took place on a small tributary stream of the Wabash.
—McCLUNG.

instantly a very heavy attack began upon that line, and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise; the great weight of it was directed against the center of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from our fire, and confusion beginning to spread, from the great number of men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done with the bayonet. Lieut.-Col. Darke was ordered to make a charge with part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy; this was executed with great spirit—the Indians gave way, and were driven back 300 or 400 yards; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen, to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pushed back the troops that were posted there. Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler's and Clarke's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times, and always with success; in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with such raw troops was a loss irremediable. In that just spoken of, made by the second regiment, and Butler's battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell, except three, one of whom, Mr. Creaton, was shot through the body. Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed, except Capt. Ford, who was very badly wounded, and more than half the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make the retreat if possible: to this purpose the remains of the army were formed as well as circumstances would admit, toward the right of the encampment, from which by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy as if the design was to turn their right flank, but in fact to gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was opened, the militia took along it, followed by the troops, Major Clarke with his battalion covering the rear. The retreat in these circumstances, you may be sure, was a very precipitate one—it was in fact a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable, for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business, is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit (which continued about four miles) had ceased. I found the road strewn with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself; and the order I sent forward, either to halt the front, or prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to.

"The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached at a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted about half an hour after 9 o'clock.

"I have not been able to get returns of the killed and wounded, but Maj.-Gen. Butler, Lieut.-Col. Oldham, of the militia, Majors Furguson, Heart and Clarke, are among the former; Col. Sargent, my adjutant general, Lieut.-Col. Darke, Lieut.-Col. Gibson, Major Butler, and the Viscount Malartie, who served me as an aid-de-camp, are among the latter, and a great number of captains and subalterns in both.

"I have now, sir, finished my melancholy tale—a tale that will be felt sensibly by every one who has sympathy for private distress; or for public misfortune.

"I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops but their want of discipline, which from the short time they had been in service it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavily upon the officers, who did everything in their power to effect it; neither were my own exertions wanting, but worn down with illness and suffering with a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse, without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and perhaps ought to have been. We were overpowered by numbers, but it is no more than justice to observe, that though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign.

"At Fort Jefferson I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon, without either overtaking the deserters or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not certain, sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment, from the field of action, as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to think it was fortunate, for I very much doubt whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been changed; and if it had not the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of every means of defense.

"Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at Fort Jefferson, and that there were no provisions in the fort, I called upon the field officers, viz.: Lieut.-Col. Darke, Major Hamtramck, Major Zeigler and Major Gaither, together with the adjutant general, for their advice, what would be proper, further to be done, and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment, unbroken as it was, did not put the army on as respectable a footing as it was in the morning, because a

great part of it was now unarmed, that it had been then found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was probable, would be found so again; that the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was so small, and that there were no provisions in it; that provisions were known to be upon the road at the distance of one or at most two marches; that, therefore, it would be proper to move, without loss of time, to meet the provisions, when the men might have the sooner an opportunity for refreshments, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it to have it safely deposited in the fort. This advice was accepted, and the army put in motion again at 10 o'clock and marched all night, and the succeeding day met with a quantity of flour, part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to Fort Hamilton, and the remainder (about fifty horse loads) sent forward to Fort Jefferson; the next day a drove of cattle was met with for the same place, and I have information that both got in. The wounded, who had been left at that place, were ordered to be brought here by the return horses.

"I have said, sir, in a former part of this letter, that we were overpowered by numbers; of that, however, I have no other evidence than the weight of the fire, which was always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground, few of the enemy showing themselves on foot, except when they charged; and that in a few minutes our whole camp, which extended above three hundred and fifty yards in length, was entirely surrounded, and attacked on all quarters.

"The loss, sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many brave officers, particularly Gen. Butler and Maj. Ferguson, can not be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. I have had very particular obligations to many of them, as well as to the survivors, but to none more than to Col. Sargent. He had discharged the various duties of his office with zeal, with exactness and with intelligence, and on all occasions, afforded me every assistance in his power; which I have also experienced from my aid-de-camp, Lieut. Denny, and the Viscount Malartie, who served with me in that station, as a volunteer.

"With every sentiment of respect and regard, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

"ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

"To the Hon. Maj. Gen. Knox, secretary of war.

"P. S. Some orders that had been given to Col. Oldham, over night, and which were of much consequence, were not executed; and some very material intelligence was communicated by Capt.

Slough to Gen. Butler in the course of the night before the action, which was never imparted to me, nor did I hear of it until after my arrival here."

PHILADELPHIA, December 23.

"Last Wednesday evening, Lieut. Denny, aid-de-camp to Maj.-Gen. St. Clair, arrived with dispatches for the secretary of war, dated Fort Washington, the 17th of November. The garrison at Fort Jefferson was intended to be continued, and was not conceived to be in any danger; it was supplied with provisions, provided with artillery, and commanded by Capt. Shailer of the Second regiment. Most of the wounded had arrived at Fort Washington from Fort Jefferson. Piomingo, the Chickasaw chief, had returned safe with his warriors, and Captain Sparks, of Clarke's battalion, bringing with them five scalps. The Kentucky militia, under Gens. Scott and Wilkinson, all mounted and furnished with twenty days' provision, will probably arrive at Fort Washington about the 20th of November. It was expected that the dispersed situation of the Indians would afford a good opportunity for the militia to make an important stroke yet this winter."

The brave Maj. Clarke (who covered their retreat with some soldiers) supposed to be killed, had arrived safe at Fort Washington. The levies were generally discharged, excepting those who had enlisted in the regular service."

This was accompanied with an authentic list of the killed and wounded in the army of the United States (regular troops). The list embraces by name, only officers. But the whole number of non-commissioned officers and privates killed and missing amounted to 593, wounded, 214. Among the list of officers killed, was Capt. Kirkwood, an account of the attack upon whose cabin we have given in the chapter preceding this.

Here ends our account of the Indian campaigns in which the settlers of the upper Ohio valley were directly concerned, but not the last before peace was secured. The disastrous defeat of the unfortunate St. Clair, made it necessary for the protection of the frontiers, and for the retrieving of the honor of the nation, to organize and send another army to punish the savages and reduce them to submission. But it is not our purpose to go into a detailed account which would be foreign to the end in view, that of confining ourselves to the relation of events and incidents as connected with the history of that section of which we have undertaken.

But as a matter of general history we may remark that this last campaign which was conducted by Gen. Anthony Wayne, ended in the complete overthrow of the Indian forces and the glorious triumph of the American arms. The results of this

victory were secured by the treaty subsequently entered into at Greenville, on the 3rd of August, A. D. 1795, by which among other things as the price of peace the Indians gave up an extensive tract of country south of the lakes and west of the Ohio, comprehending in all about four-fifths of the present state of Ohio. This was not only the close of the Indian wars, but was really the close of our war for independence, as now for the first time the country really enjoyed independence and peace.



CHAPTER VIII.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION—
MODE OF EMIGRATION TO THE WEST—THE ERECTION OF THE
CABIN—PERILS AND DANGERS TO WHICH THE PIONEER WAS EX-
POSED—THEIR PLACES OF WORSHIP—EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG
—RECREATIONS OF THE EARLY SETTLERS—THROWING THE
TOMAHAWK—ATHLETIC SPORTS—DANCING—DRAMATIC NARRA-
TIONS—DESCRIPTION OF THE MODE OF BUILDING—THE DRESS
OF THE SETTLERS—EMPLOYMENT OF THE FEMALES—HOSPI-
TALITY OF THE PEOPLE—THEIR SENSE OF HONOR—SINGLE
COMBATS—THE FAMINE YEAR.



ONTRASTS in the character of the early settlers and that of the population of the present day is one of striking difference. The advantages of the former were exceedingly limited in all the relations of life. Possessing none of the comforts and conveniences which are so abundantly multiplied to the people of to-day, they were compelled by force of circumstances to be satisfied with the rudest implements of husbandry, a circumscribed fare, and roughly constructed furniture, such as native ingenuity suggested and was able to fashion.

The revolution had withdrawn the labor of the country from agriculture and manufactures. The trying scenes and the dangerous perils through which the country had passed during the continuance had paralyzed commerce and trade, of which, at the close of the revolution there was none. Of money, there was none of any consequence. The continental money was worthless. The country at large could not even furnish necessary clothing. The dream of the fighting, starving and freezing soldier led him to look forward to the future for compensation and comfort; and in the midst of his many trials and hardships he never for a moment doubted but that his hard earned services would be amply rewarded, and he be remembered with gratitude and thankfulness by his torn and bleeding country.

But when discharged from the service he was paid off in worthless continental scrip, hundreds of dollars of which would scarcely suffice to secure for him a respectable meal. Thus he was compelled to return to his poverty-stricken family, without the means to provide for their comfort, himself often but a mere wreck of what he was, frequently broken down with sickness or carrying within his system the germs of disease implanted there

by want, exposure and fatigue consequent upon his arduous and heavy duties as a soldier and patriot. Under the excitement of war with its pomp and parade he had been sustained, but these were now at an end. Is it any wonder that these brave men who had been ready and foremost in the hour of conflict and who held not their lives dear in the cause of humanity and their country under these circumstances should become depressed and discouraged and lack the courage to face the stern poverty with which they had to contend. Hence many were prompted to look to the unsettled and western portions of our country where land was cheap, and nature was as yet unsubdued. Their journey to this El Dorado of their hopes and desires was one which was full of perils, dangers and hardships, yet with resigned purpose they gathered together their household goods and with their families set out for the then far away and unknown country, consuming weeks in what now can be accomplished in a few hours comparatively speaking.

At this time the mode of communication was either by means of a long and tedious journey on foot, or by pack horses which afforded the necessary transportation of the period. One horse would be devoted to carrying the mother of the family, who often traveled with an infant in her arms, her animal being encumbered with the cooking utensils of the family and such table furniture as was necessary for the use of the members. Another horse would pack the family provisions and the various implements of husbandry which it was necessary should be brought with them as none such could be obtained in the new country. Again, where there were young children of too tender an age to walk and undergo the fatigue incident to physical effort, two large creels made of hickory withes would be thrown across the back of the horse, resembling in size and shape our crates—one on each side of the horse, in which was packed the beds and necessary bed clothes for the same, together with the apparel for the family. In the center of these creels the young children would occupy a space in a depression of the bedding which was secured by lacing in such a manner as to hold and keep them in their positions, and as the animal moved along, their heads only, which were above, were to be seen bobbing up and down with every motion of the beast as it walked along with measured pace. As the early settlers greatly depended on milk, one or more cows invariably brought up the rear of this unique cavalcade. The children depended on the lacteal fluid they furnished for their morning and evening meal, and the surplus, if any, was used by the older persons during the day with which to refresh themselves.

At night, if fortunate enough to come across a deserted cabin, they would take possession of it for the time being and thus se-

cure shelter. But it was seldom that they enjoyed such a comfort and protection. Hence they were mostly compelled to make their camp upon the bare ground beneath the green arches of the forest trees and in the vicinity of some spring or stream of running water. Here, after the fatigues of the day spent on horseback carrying her helpless babe through its wearisome hours, the jaded mother would seek a broken rest, broken by reason of excessive fatigue or a sick and petulant infant, until the morning light admonished them to commence anew unrefreshed with sleep and watching. The indebtedness of succeeding generations to these pioneer mothers has never been appreciated as it should have been. Their sacrifices and labors in laying the foundations of this western empire and in building up and improving its waste places with thriving towns, cities and villages—in cheering and encouraging their husbands and sons under the most unpropitious and at times the most discouraging surroundings, and in counsel and advice as to plans and their fulfilment, is a part, and will continue to be, of that unwritten history which is always the most interesting and instructive.

Though by force of circumstances their lives were inconspicuous in most instances as compared with those of the male portion, yet their influence in shaping and controlling the destiny of this western country, was not less than the more active and prominent efforts of the latter. And indeed, in times of emergency when the incursion of the savage startled them from their peaceful quiet or the prowling wolf and bear invaded their domain, she showed the pluck and nerve of a true heroine in defense of home and loved ones. Pages might be written of heroism, and instances without number be given, illustrative of her fortitude and self-abnegation, did time and space permit, but we forbear.

It must be borne in mind that a journey to the west in those days was not over beaten roads and well defined avenues of travel, of which at that period there were none. Hence travel was neither easy nor comfortable. Their way was usually along a trail, a bridle path, or marked by notched trees to indicate their course. These led through wild, primeval forests, where the precipice, the ravine, and the stream presented natural obstructions to their progress. To pass along and through these it required at all times that the greatest caution should be exercised. The stumbling of a horse on the brink of a precipice might precipitate it and its burden to the depths far below. No bridges spanned the streams, and they were therefore compelled with anxious care to ford them, or when swollen by the rains, they were compelled to patiently wait upon their banks for the subsidence of their waters. Under these circumstances the members of the family would frequently become separated from one another and much time would be lost in gathering them together.

Sometimes an unlucky horse would lose his footing and the swift current would bear him away or damage his burden, or place the lives of the young children in imminent danger if not speedily rescued.

After reaching their destination and making a location, the first thing they undertook was the erection of a cabin for the shelter and protection of the family. For this purpose timber was procured by cutting down and felling the trees suitable for the building, which were chopped into logs of the desired length, and these were then rolled to the spot selected for its site, where strong arms placed them in position, and covered them with a roof of clapboards. Afterward they were furnished with a puncheon floor, the interstices between the logs were filled with chink and mortar to make it storm proof, and a chimney was added on the outside built of sticks and mud. The next thing in order was the girdling of the trees and the felling of those in the immediate vicinity of the newly erected cabin to obtain a clearing, which at the proper time was made ready for the reception of corn and potatoes. As our pioneer ancestry did not depend on "store clothes" for their outfit, each pioneer had his patch of flax, which the busy housewife spun in her leisure moments, and worked into yards of homespun fabric, out of which she made the unpretending garments for family use and wear.

Let it be remembered, too, that in the midst of numerous trials and hardships incident to their lives and locations, and to which they were unceasingly subjected, they were also exposed to the appearance of the marauding savage, who was bent on plunder and murder at the most unexpected and unlooked for seasons. Murders on the part of the Indians were frequent, and numbers of settlers, their wives and children, were from time to time taken prisoners and carried away by their captors to spend hopeless years under savage surveillance, if by a kind providence they were suffered to escape the tortures of the stake or a lingering death in some other form. To meet these sudden inroads of the Indians, frequent calls were made upon the settlers to do militia service at the most unpropitious seasons, often when their crops demanded their undivided care and attention. It was a very usual thing for one man to be engaged in the field at his labors, while one or two others would stand guard with their rifles in hand to protect him if necessary from sudden surprise by the prowling red man. The general government could not come to their relief and the state of Virginia had expended all her resources in carrying on the revolution, and hence in a great measure they were left to their own resources for protection and defense as best they might or could. In the several sieges sustained by Fort Henry it was the settlers who defended that post.

so successfully as it was those who also defended the smaller forts and block houses which suffered from similar attacks from the common enemy. And yet these people, deprived as they were in their new homes of so many of the advantages of a more civilized life, were in the main a moral and intelligent class of people. As such they respected the claims of religion and enjoyed its ordinances, frequently traveling ten, fifteen and twenty miles to enjoy its privileges and participate in its services.

Of church buildings there were none, but they realized in the destitution of church buildings that

“The groves were God’s first temples.”

A pulpit made of logs was erected under the boughs of some lofty forest tree, while in front of it logs were placed for seats, where the gathered audience sat and listened to the exposition of the Word, while vigilant sentinels kept measured tread upon the outside of the assembled congregation at a respectable distance, while those in attendance had stacked their arms beneath some friendly tree where they could be promptly secured for use in case their wily foe should have the temerity to disturb their devotions. Here in the cold and piercing wind, and often exposed to the falling rain, the earnest worshippers would remain for hours, with the exception of a brief intermission for their meals; and often scantily clad, with a blanket or coverlet, or oftener a deerskin thrown around their bodies to protect them from the roughness of the elements. These meetings were sometimes protracted for days. The education of the children usually, and indeed in almost every instance, devolved upon the mother, and instruction of them was not neglected by her, as she generally realized the responsibilities devolving upon her in at least giving them some general idea of its importance and value. And this effort upon her part was truly a labor of love full of difficulties. The boys accustomed to active and stirring scenes, living in the midst of exciting influences, and familiarized as they were with scenes of trial and hardships, and almost daily listening to recitals of Indian massacres and depredations, and to the daring and deeds of some well-known pioneer, and ignorant of the sports engaged in by children in more settled portions of the country, it is no wonder that they grew up with the spirit of adventure fully developed within them, and with the idea that a soldier’s life was the ideal object to be obtained, or a hunter’s the one to be adopted and followed. Yet the labor of the faithful mothers built up characters in many cases imbued with the transforming power of Christianity, and many of them became the humble and sincere followers of the Master.

The early settlers of the Pan-handle, notwithstanding the many privations and hardships they were called upon to endure

found leisure to engage in recreation, and to enjoy sports and pleasures which in these latter days have entirely passed away and been forgotten to a very great extent. Doddridge, in speaking of the games and diversions engaged in, says: "One important pastime of our boys was that of imitating the noise of every bird and beast in the woods. This faculty was not merely a pastime, but a very necessary part of education, on account of its utility in certain circumstances. The imitations of the gobbling, and other sounds of wild turkeys, often brought those keen-eyed and ever watchful tenants of the forest, within the reach of the rifle. The bleating of the fawn brought the dam to her death in the same way. The hunter often collected a company of mopish owls to the trees about his camp, and amused himself with their hoarse screaming; his howl would raise and obtain responses from a pack of wolves, so as to inform him of their neighborhood, as well as guard him against their depredations. This imitative faculty was sometimes requisite as a measure of precaution in war. The Indians, when scattered about in a neighborhood, often collected together, by imitating turkeys by day and wolves or owls by night. In similar situations our people did the same. I have often witnessed the consternation of a whole neighborhood, in consequence of a few screeches of owls. An early and correct use of this imitative faculty was considered as an indication that its possessor would become in due time a good hunter and a valiant warrior."

Throwing the tomahawk was another boyish sport, in which many acquired considerable skill. The tomahawk with its handle of a certain length, will make a given number of turns in a given distance, say in five steps it will strike with the edge, the handle downwards; at the distance of seven and a half it will strike with the edge, the handle upwards, and so on. A little experience enabled the boy to measure the distance with his eye, when walking through the woods, and strike a tree with his tomahawk in any way he chose.

The athletic sports of running, jumping and wrestling, were the pastimes of boys in common with the men. A well-grown boy at the age of twelve or thirteen years was furnished with a small rifle and shot pouch. He then became a fort soldier, and had his port-hole assigned him. Hunting squirrels, turkeys and raccoons soon made him expert in the use of his gun. Dancing was the principal amusement of our young people of both sexes. Their dances to be sure were of the simplest forms. Three and four-handed reels and jigs. Contra dances, cotillions, and minuets were unknown. Shooting at marks was a common diversion among the men, when their stock of ammunition would allow it; this, however, was far from being always the case. The present mode of shooting off-hand was not then in practice. This mode

was not considered as any trial of the value of the gun; nor indeed as much of a trial of the skill of a marksman. Their shooting was from a rest, and at as great a distance as the length and weight of the barrel of the gun would throw a ball on a horizontal level. Such was their regard to accuracy, in these sportive trials of their rifles and of their own skill in the use of them, that they often put moss or some other soft substance, on the log or stump from which they shot, for fear of having the bullet thrown from the mark by the spring of the barrel. When the rifle was held to the side of a tree for a rest, it was pressed against it as lightly as possible for the same reason. Rifles of former times were different from those of modern date; few of them carried more than forty-five bullets to the pound. Bullets of a less size were not thought sufficiently heavy for hunting or war.

Dramatic narrations concerning Jack and the giant, furnished our young people with another source of amusement during their leisure hours. Many of these tales were lengthy, and embraced a considerable range of incident, Jack, always the hero of the story, after encountering many difficulties, and performing many great achievements, came off conqueror of the giant. Many of these stories were tales of knight errantry, in which some captive virgin was released from captivity and restored to her lover. These dramatic narrations concerning Jack and the giant, bore a strong resemblance to the poems of Ossian, the story of the Cyclops and Ulysses in the *Odyssey* of Homer, and the tale of the giant and Great Heart, in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. They were so arranged as to the different incidents of the narration, that they were easily committed to memory. They certainly have been handed down from generation to generation, from time immemorial. Civilization, has, indeed, banished the use of those ancient tales of romantic heroism, but what then? It has substituted in their place the novel and romance.

Singing was another, but not very common, amusement among our first settlers. Their tunes were rude enough to be sure. Robin Hood furnished a number of our songs, the balance were mostly tragical. These last were denominated "love songs about murder." As to cards, dice, back-gammon and other games of chance, we knew nothing then. These are amongst the blessed gifts of civilization.

The buildings, as we have already indicated, were of the rudest kind. After selecting a spot on which to erect a house, on an appointed day, a company of choppers met, felled the necessary trees, cut them off to proper length, when a team hauled them to the place. In the meantime a carpenter would be engaged in searching for a proper tree out of which to make clap-boards for the roof. The boards were split, about four feet

in length and as wide as the timber would allow. They were used without shaving. Some would be employed in getting puncheons for the floor of the cabin. This was done by splitting trees about eighteen inches in diameter, and hewing the faces of them without a broadaxe. They were half the length of the floor they were intended to make. These were the usual preparations for the first day. The second day the neighbors collected around and finished the house. The third day's work generally consisted in what was called "furnituring" the house, supplying it with a clapboard table, made of a split slab and supported by four round legs, set in auger holes. Some three-legged stools were made in the same manner. Some pins stuck in the logs at the back of the house, supported some clapboards which served for shelves for the table furniture, consisting usually of a few pewter dishes, plates and spoons, but mostly of wooden bowls, trenches and noggins. If these last were scarce, gourds and hard-shelled squashes made up the deficiency. The iron pots, knives and forks, were brought from the east side of the mountains, along with iron and salt on pack horses.

"A single fork placed with its lower end in a hole in the floor and the upper end fastened to the joist served for a bedstead, by placing a pole in the fork, with one end through a crack between the logs in the wall. This front pole was crossed by a shorter one within the fork, with its outer end through another crack. From the first pole through a crack between the logs of the end of the house, the boards were put on, which formed the bottom of the bed. Sometimes other poles were pinned to the fork, a little distance above these for the purpose of supporting the front and foot of the bed, while the walls were the support of its back and its head. A few pegs around the walls for a display of the coats of the women and hunting shirts of the men; and two small forks or buck's horns to a joist for the rifle and shot pouch, completed the carpenter's work. The cabin being finished the next ceremony was the 'house warming.'"

The dress of the first settlers partook of the character of the Indian, and the more civilized costume, the hunting shirt, was worn by everyone, it being something like a loose blouse, reaching below the waist, with large, open sleeves, and made so wide as to lap over the bust when belted, for a foot or more. To this was attached a capacious cape which was sometimes adorned with a fringe made of a ravelled piece of cloth, of different color than that of the shirt. Both of these were usually made of fabric known as "linsey woolsey." "The bosom of this dress served as a receptacle to hold a chunk of bread, cake, jerk, tow for wiping the barrel of the rifle, or anything necessary for the hunter or warrior. The belt which was tied behind answered several purposes besides that of holding the dress together. In cold

weather, the mittens, and sometimes the bullet bag occupied the front of it. To the right side was suspended the tomahawk, and on the left the scalping knife in its leather sheath." A pair of drawers or breeches and leggins were the dress of the thighs and legs. Buckskin breeches were regarded as superior in style and show in those days. A pair of moccasins answered for the feet much better than shoes and were made of dressed deer skins. They were generally made of a single piece with gathered seams along the top of the foot, and another from the bottom of the heel, without gaiters, as high as the ankle joint, or a little higher. Flaps were left on each side to reach to some distance up the legs. These were nicely adapted to the ankles and lower part of the leg, by thongs of deerskin, so that no dust, gravel or snow could get within the moccasin. The moccasins in ordinary use cost but a few hours' labor to make them. In cold weather they were stuffed with deer's hair or dry leaves, so as to keep the feet comfortably warm.

In latter years of the Indian war, the young man became more enamored with the Indian dress throughout, with the exception of the watch coat. The drawers were laid aside, and the leggins made longer, so as to reach the upper part of the thigh. The Indian style of toilet was adopted. This was a piece of linen or cloth nearly a yard long and eight or ten inches broad. This passed under the belt before and behind, leaving the ends of the flaps hanging before and behind over the belt. These flaps were sometimes ornamented with some coarse kinds of embroidering work. To the same belt which secured the cloth strings, which supported the long leggins, were attached. When this belt, as was often the case, passed over the hunting shirt, the upper part of the thighs, and part of the hips were naked. The young warrior instead of being abashed by his nudity, was proud of his Indian-like dress.

The linsey woolsey petticoat and bed-gown, which were the universal dress of our women in early times, would make a very singular figure in our day. A small home-made handkerchief, in point of elegance, would ill-supply the profusion of ruffles and laces with which the necks of our ladies are now ornamented. They were accustomed to go barefoot in warm weather, and in cold their feet were covered with moccasins, overshoes or shoe-packs, which often would make but a very sorry figure beside the elegant morocco slippers or calf-skin shoes which at present ornament the feet of their daughters and grand-daughters. The coats and bed-gowns of the women, as well as the hunting shirts of the men, were hung in full display on wooden pegs, around the walls of the cabin; so that while they answered, in some degree, the place of paper hangings or tapestry, they announced to the stranger, as well as neighbor, the wealth or poverty of the

family in the articles of clothing. This practice prevailed for a long time. The ladies handled the spinning-wheel, shuttle, sickle, weeding hoe, scutching knife, hackle, and were contented if they could obtain their linsey woolen clothing, and cover their heads with sun bonnets made of coarse linen.

Debts which so agitate a settled community and which make such a disturbance in the laws and usages of trade among the commercial classes, where unknown, comparatively speaking, among our early ancestors in this country. As before stated, they had no money but the worthless continental paper, and hence when purchases were made, the prices were paid in produce or labor. The price for a bushel of alum salt was a cow and calf. A failure to perform a contract brought disgrace and discredit upon the head of the delinquent. A thief was looked upon with supreme contempt and punished with the most extreme infamy. When a thief was detected in the settlement, the summary infliction of stripes was visited upon the offender. If the theft was of something of some value, an irregular jury of the neighborhood where the crime occurred, would be called together, for the purpose of hearing the testimony, and if found guilty, the culprit would be condemned to receive forty lashes, save one, well laid on by some stalwart individual selected to discharge that duty. Another mode of punishment adopted in the case of petty offenders was to compel the offender to carry on his back the flag of the United States, which at that time was composed of thirteen stripes. These stripes were well laid on, on the bare back by an able hand. The punishment was then followed by a sentence of exile. He was sent out as an outcast, being informed that he must decamp in a certain number of days, with orders never to return there again on penalty of having the number of his stripes doubled. For many years after the law was put in operation in the Pan-handle of Virginia, the justices were in the habit of exercising their discretion in cases of small thefts giving those who were brought before them the option of a choice in going to jail or taking a whipping. The latter was usually chosen, and was at once inflicted; after which the thief was ostracised and ordered never to return.

The hospitality of the people was proverbial; no one ever appealed in vain for help or food in their emergency, whether it was a neighbor or a stranger, and nothing would give greater offense than an offer to pay for the same. Their latch string always hung on the outside, and the stranger and the wayfarer alike always received a generous and hearty welcome. In their friendship they were firm, constant and true. Opposed to this commendable trait of character, was another which it was unsafe to arouse; we mean their revengeful animosity which was fre-

quently carried to extremes, and which sometimes led to personal combats and dangerous encounters. They were exceedingly sensitive as to a point of honor. If one called another a liar he was considered as having given a challenge which the person receiving it must accept or be looked upon as a coward; and hence the insult was generally promptly met with a blow. But if on account of existing disability of any kind on the part of the injured, he was permitted to go to a friend to accept the challenge for him. The same took place when a party was charged with cowardice or a dishonorable action of any kind. A conflict must ensue and the person making the charge or giving the insult had to fight the person injured or any champion, no matter who, who might be willing to espouse his cause and take up the cudgel in his behalf. The prevalence of this disposition led the people of this early day to be cautious in speaking of their neighbors to their discredit, and also encouraged a chivalrous feeling of self-respect, as well as consideration for the feelings of others.

It was not unusual for pitched battles to occur, when preparation would be made beforehand by the appointment of the time, place and seconds. The mode of single combats in those days was extremely dangerous and often disastrous. In the fierce contact fist, feet and teeth were all employed. A practice much in vogue in the encounters was that of gouging, by which it was no uncommon thing to have an eye wrenched from its socket.

Among other trials and privations to which the early settlers were subjected was the failure of crops, and hence the scarcity of wholesome food. In the year 1790, famine stared them in the face. An early frost in the preceding fall had cut down the corn before it was fairly dried and ready for gathering. A great deal of it, however, was gathered and put away, notwithstanding, and in this state it was used by many for making bread, which, when eaten, invariably reacted upon the stomach, producing intense sickness and vomiting. Even the domestic animals were seriously affected from eating it. Consequently wholesome corn at once went up in price to \$1.50 and \$2.00 per bushel, and even at this price it was difficult to obtain. The scarcity was pronounced and generally felt by the following June. There were but few milch cows in the settlements, and no oxen, cattle or hogs which could be spared for meat.

The woods to a great extent had been depleted of game by the Indians who had slaughtered or driven away the larger portion of it within any reasonable distance of the settlements. But in the midst of the great scarcity prevailing shone out that conspicuous trait of character attaching to the people who readily shared what they had with those who were the less fortunate. Such of them as were the fortunate possessors of a cow, shared

the milk with their neighbors, notably in such cases where they had young children. There was also a scarcity of sugar and molasses, not because there was not an abundance of the maple trees around them, but simply because they were deficient in not having vessels appropriate in which to boil the sap. If it had not been that the rivers and creeks afforded a reasonable supply of fish very poor families must have suffered from starvation. The green tops of the nettles and the tender blades of herbs as soon as they appeared were gathered, of which they made a palatable dish of soup which many persons indulged in to satisfy the cravings of their appetites. Potato tops were also utilized in the same way. A great scarcity of salt likewise prevailed, and sold in small quantities at 50 cents a quart. By one means and another they struggled through this dire period until early vegetables began to appear, and finally the ripened corn mixed with a small quantity of wheat furnished them with luxury of bread. The crop of the year was excellent and banished all fears of a want of food. This year marked an episode in the lives of the settlers, and was known long afterward, and always referred to as the "starvation year."



CHAPTER IX.*

BY JOHN P. HALE.

PRE-HISTORIC OCCUPATION OF THE KANAWHA VALLEY—MOUND-BUILDERS—WHO WERE THEY?—WHENCE CAME THEY?—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHEROKEES—INTERESTING EXPLORATIONS OF ANCIENT EARTH AND STONE WORKS.



From all the nations, or confederations, of tribes of Indians occupying this country at the time of the coming of the white man, the Cherokees were the most populous and powerful probably, not even excepting the Iroquois. They were then a southern nation, occupying territory in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, the Carolinas and Georgia. For more than two hundred years they have been engaged in an almost ceaseless struggle for existence, warring with other tribes and pressed by the constant encroachments of the whites, yielding by degrees their immense claims of territory to the colonies and to the United States government, until finally in 1838 they were transplanted to new homes beyond the Mississippi.

Since 1721, the date of the first colonial treaty with them, they have been oftener and for longer time before the public, in the way of treaties, land sales, conflicts about boundaries and judicial decisions, than any other of the Indian peoples. They have passed through all this, and are now more prosperous, advanced and progressive than at any previous time in their later history. Such is a brief outline sketch of the interesting people who held this valley prior to the coming of the whites. The first known contact with them by the white race, was by the enterprising Spanish explorer, Ferdinand DeSoto, in Georgia, in 1540. For more than a century nothing more was known of them, until in 1667, Gov. Berkley of Virginia, with a view to encouraging trade with the Indian tribes, equipped an expedition, consisting of fourteen whites and fourteen Indians, to make

*This chapter pertains more particularly to the Kanawha Valley, but as this whole region of country was more than likely occupied by the same pre-historic races, the matter herein related has much significance to this part of the Ohio Valley. For this reason the publishers have concluded to insert it here.

a trip of discovery beyond the mountains. Traveling southwest from Appomattox, whence they started, they came to and crossed the Blue Ridge, and probably into the Holston and Clinch valleys in southwestern Virginia, where they encountered the Cherokees. In 1690 something of them was made known by a Mr. Daugherty, a Virginian and an Indian trader, who had taken up his residence among them.

The first formed relations between the Cherokees and the colonists was in 1693, when twenty Indian chiefs visited Charleston, S. C., the Ashley settlement, to proffer friendship and solicit aid in their troubles with some of their unfriendly neighbors. In 1702, M. Pericault mentions them as living on the upper waters of the Kasquinempas (Tennessee).

In 1708 the same author mentions that the Cherokees had formed a league with other tribes to wage war against the French and Mobilians, and burn their houses. About 1712, early maps show them on the Holston and Clinch, the Broad, the Catawba and the Savannah rivers. In 1713, Peter Julien was arraigned in South Carolina for holding two Cherokee women in slavery. In 1715, the Cherokees, Creeks and Yamassees formed an alliance and declared open hostilities against the South Carolina colonists. In 1716, the Cherokees killed M. M. de Ramsay and de Longucil northeast of Mobile. The French in Canada engaged the Iroquois to punish them for the act, which they did, sacking and destroying two villages, and compelling the Indians to retreat. The first formal business dealing with them was in 1721, when, by treaty agreement with South Carolina, they ceded to the colony certain lands within their boundaries.

After this there were several other treaties, prior to 1768, with the more southern colonies, but not affecting this region. In the latter year, however (1768), October 14, Mr. Stewart, British superintendent of Indian affairs, concluded a treaty with the Cherokees, at a place called Hard Labor, S. C., in which it was agreed "that the southwest boundary of Virginia should be a line extending from the point where the northern line of North Carolina intersects the Cherokee hunting grounds, about thirty-six miles east of Long Island, in the Holston river; and thence extending in a direct course north by east to Chiswell's mine on the east bank of the Kenhawa river, and thence down that stream to its junction with the Ohio river." This treaty was made in pursuance of appeals from the Indians to stop further encroachments of settlers upon their lands, and to have their boundaries definitely fixed, especially in the region of the north fork of Holston river and the headwaters of the Kenhawa. Two years later, on the 18th of October, 1770, at Lochabar, S. C., a new treaty was concluded. A new boundary

line was established by this treaty, "commencing on the south bank of Holston river, six miles east of Long Island, and running thence to the mouth of the Great Kenhawa." By these two treaties and cessions the Cherokees surrendered all right, title, interest and claim in and to this valley forever, and so far as they were concerned, it was now open and clear for the advent of the whites, who were rapidly pressing on this way. There were numerous other treaties before and after these, but not affecting this region. At the date of these cessions, there was not yet a single white settler in the Kanawha valley proper, though there were a few on the upper New river.

About the date of the latter treaty, 1770, Gen. Washington was at the mouth of the Kanawha, looking up valuable lands and locating his military land warrants for services in the northwest.

Although the Cherokees owned this valley and region up to the date of these relinquishments, and had so owned or claimed it, probably for many generations and centuries, they did not at this time occupy it, and probably had not—except in the southern, or upper New river region—for some generations previously; but there are reasons to believe that at an earlier time they had occupied not only the western portion of Virginia, but Ohio as well, in very large numbers and for a very long period of time. Whether they were driven out by superior force, or voluntarily migrated to their afterward more southern homes, it is probably now impossible to determine. Since the Cherokees evacuated the territory, it has been occupied by one or more temporary waves of population. A large portion of what is now West Virginia and Kentucky, was for some time claimed by that powerful confederacy, the "Six Nations," by right of former conquest, and also by the Shawnees and the Delawares.

This region was not held by settled occupants at the coming of the whites, but was held as a debatable territory, and used for hunting and fighting purposes by and between the northern and southern tribes. It was the northern tribes (the Shawnees, Delawares, Mengses, Wyandottes, etc.), then occupying Ohio, that caused so much suffering to the whites, by raiding the frontier Virginia settlements, and opposing by all the cruel methods known to the race, the steadily persistent progress of the hardy and daring early pioneers into this region, and they who met the whites in the desperate, bloody, ever memorable, and to them fatal conflict at Point Pleasant.

Just when the Cherokees left the Ohio valley may never be known, but it is probable that a portion of them, at least, were very far south before the middle sixteenth century, as reported by De Soto; and there are evidences of their occupation in

southern Virginia, the Carolinas and Tennessee about the middle of the seventeenth century.

MOUND BUILDERS.

Probably no ethnological question has excited more interest within the past century than the elusive and tantalizing one of the origin and history of the races and tribes of men who inhabited this country at and before the coming of the white race. They knew but little about their ancestors, they had no written records, and their traditions were vague and conflicting. It was long hoped that some buried records in hieroglyph, picture or other sign writing might be found, that would throw light upon their past history; but so far diligent search has failed to unearth anything of the kind. For a time it was hoped that a (so-called) lettered stone found in the great Gram creek mound would give some clew that would help unravel the mystery; some of the characters were supposed to resemble Sanscrit letters. Copies of it were sent to philologists and learned societies in this country and in Europe; but nothing could be made of it, and all hopes based upon it were dashed.

Several theories have been suggested as to the probable origin of the "mounds" and other earth and stone works found by the first white comers, and now known to be so numerous and widely distributed. When at first so little was known about them, no less a person than Dr. Franklin suggested that the erratic De Soto probably built them during his wanderings through the country; and the theory was advocated by Noah L. Webster and many others, but as more data were accumulated and more known about the number, extent and character of the works (there are more than ten thousand mounds and fifteen hundred enclosures in Ohio alone, and they are still more numerous in the gulf states), this theory was found to be untenable, and was abandoned.

It was then suggested that the Aztics or Toltics or Pueblos had occupied the Mississippi valley in their earlier stages of evolution, and then passed on to develop a higher state of civilization farther south. Or, reversing the order, that these Aztics or Toltics, when they had developed in their southern homes to the mound building stage, had, or a portion of them had, come up and occupied the Mississippi valley for several or many generations or centuries, when they retired or were conquered and driven out, or nearly exterminated and the remnants absorbed into the local tribes following them; forgetting, after a time, the history of the works their ancestors had built.

Another theory was that these works were built by locally developed tribes, or confederations of tribes, who having at-

tained to this degree of advancement, again degenerated, or were exterminated by war, pestilence or famine, or migrated to parts unknown, their successors being ignorant of their past history.

These and other theories have had their day and their advocates; but none of them, upon full examination, have proved entirely satisfactory.

In the meantime, interest in the subject has increased, and a great deal of work has been done by individuals, by local and state societies, by the Peabody Museum, the Smithsonian Institution and others, in opening and examining mounds and other works, collecting and comparing relics, and studying the subject generally. This careful study has developed and established one important fact, *i. e.*, that *some* of the tribes, in some of the districts, built mounds up to and even after the Columbian period. Among the relics found in some of them, were metals and other articles unquestionably of European origin, that could only have come into the hands of the natives through contact with the whites after the Columbian discovery. These facts naturally suggest, and go far to substantiate the theory that, after all, the mysterious mound builders were the ancestors of the tribes who occupied the country at the time of the coming of the whites; or were at least a people on the same general plane of intelligence and advancement as many of the tribes found here.

It cannot be said that this conclusion is yet definitely established, but the concurrence of opinion of the most careful students and ablest men who are devoting their time and labor to the investigation of the subject certainly tend strongly in this direction. Prof. Cyrus Thomas, of the Smithsonian Ethnological Bureau, Maj. J. W. Powell, of the Government Geological Bureau, Washington, Prof. Carr, of the Peabody Museum, Mr. Foster, author of "Pre-Historic Races," and others, strongly incline to this theory.

The comparison of the data obtained by an examination of these works in different parts of the country shows that there are such local peculiarities and varieties of arrangement, form and structure of the works, mode of burial in the sepulchral mounds, the character of relics deposited with the dead, &c., as to suggest that the mounds of different regions were the work of different peoples.

Prof. Thomas, in a report to the Smithsonian Institution, divides the territory east of the Rocky mountains, into eight districts, as follows :

- 1st. The Wisconsin district, or area of effigy mounds.
- 2nd. The Illinois, or upper Mississippi district.
- 3rd. The Ohio district, including the state of Ohio, the western part of the state of West Virginia, and the eastern portion

of Indiana. Of this district he says: "Although the works of this region present some features which are common to those of the Gulf section, there are several peculiar characteristics which warrant us in designating it as a distinct district. Among other of these peculiar features we notice the great circles and squares of the enclosures, the long parallel lines of earthen walls, the so-called 'altar mounds,' or mounds containing structures chiefly of clay, to which the name of 'altar' has been applied; the numerous carved stone pipes; the character of the pottery, and the method of burial."

4th. The New York district.

5th. The Appalachian district, including western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, south-west Virginia and part of southern Kentucky.

"The characteristics which appear to warrant us in concluding that the works of this region pertain to a different people from those in the other districts, at the same time seem to show some relation to those of the Ohio district. Such are the numerous stone pipes, the altar-like structures found in some of the mounds, and the presence of mica plates with the skeletons. But the peculiar features are the mode of burial, the absence of pottery, and the numerous polished celts and engraved shells found in the mounds."

6th. The middle Mississippi area, or Tennessee district.

7th. The lower Mississippi district, including the southern half of Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi.

8th. The Gulf district, including the Gulf states east of the Mississippi.

It is not intended, of course, to bound these districts by any definite lines; they can only be stated in very general terms. However interesting the study of these several districts, the vast amount of data collected, compared and recorded, and the conclusions reached, or, still under discussion by archæologists in regard to the origin and character of the mysterious ancient works, which attest the existence of an ancient and mysterious people or peoples who built them, our interest attaches more particularly to the third, or Ohio district, which embraces the Great Kanawha valley. The great uniformity of the works throughout this district having established the conviction in the minds of archæologists, of the identity of their origin, while their peculiar characteristics are so well marked, distinct and different from the works of other districts, as to force the conclusion that their builders were a different people from those who built the works of any of the other districts.

From the time of the earliest white settlements here, the Kanawha valley has been a rich field for the collection of scattered surface relics. Splendid specimens, in great variety and vast

numbers, have been carried away to enrich private and public collections, in this country and in Europe. ~~NS~~

Our own early citizens, unfortunately, attached little or no importance or value to them; they picked them up in the roads or the fields and laid them on the mantel or shelf, or they served as playthings for the children until given to the first stranger who came along with enough appreciation of their value or interest to ask for them and carry them away. It has only been within late years, when nearly all the loose specimens were gone, that a few citizens of the valley have tried to stop the outside drain, and to collect the few that are left into private cabinets.

Out of the great number of mounds and other ancient earth and stone works abounding in the valley, very many have been destroyed by digging them to pieces from ignorant curiosity, or, sometimes a silly search for treasure. This iconoclasm has, of course, taught no one anything, and benefited no one, but has destroyed the mounds for future intelligent examination by expert archaeologists. Until a few years ago, no intelligent and systematic examination and study of these works had ever been undertaken, to try to learn something of the history and character of the mysterious people who built them, and held them, probably, for hundreds, and possibly for thousands, of years, and then vanished before the advent of the white man, leaving their unwritten records buried in these mounds, and in mystery. In 1883-4, the Smithsonian Institution sent Col. P. W. Norris, who had had large experience in mound explorations in other districts, to this valley, to examine and report upon the works here. Prof. Cyrus Thomas, in charge of the corps of mound explorers, in speaking of Col. Norris' report, says:

"Through his explorations it was made manifest that one of the most extensive and remarkable groups of ancient works in the United States is contained in the section mentioned. There is probably no group exhibiting greater variety of works. They comprise mounds of various forms, from a few inches to forty feet in height, circular and irregular enclosures, parallel lines of walls, elevated ways, basins and ditches, stone cairns and rude stone structures of an anomalous character. Although the exploration of this interesting group is far from complete, it is sufficient to indicate, with great probability, that the people who constructed the mounds within it built the Grave Creek mound, or were intimately related to the authors of that celebrated tumulus. Some indications also appear that the builders of these mounds were related to the authors of the ancient works of the Scioto valley."

From the indications still existing, a large population of mound builders must have dwelt in this valley at some time in the remote past. One of their chief centers of population was

on the Kanawha river, on both sides, from three to seven miles below Charleston. They occupied not only the alluvial bottoms, but the hills and ridges on both sides. Here they constructed a large number of works of nearly all the varieties above enumerated.

Here Col. Norris began his labors. The writer accompanied him in some of his excavations and interesting explorations, the first being on the farm of the late Col. B. H. Smith, on the north side of the river, about six and one-half miles below Charleston; the first opened being a large mound on the second bottom and about half way between the river and the hill. It is conical in form, 175 feet in diameter at the bottom and thirty-five feet high. The excavation proved it to be a double or two-story structure, as it were. The first or bottom story was twenty feet high, and afterward fifteen feet more was added, making a total of thirty-five feet. A square shaft was sunk down through the center of the mound, to and a little below the original surface of the ground. This shaft was begun twelve feet square at the top, and gradually reduced to six feet square at the bottom. But little below the surface sod was found a pile of rough, flat-tish, irregular-shaped stones, of probably 100 to 200 pounds weight each. It was about half a mile to the nearest point where they could have been gotten.

Upon removing these stones—probably a ton or more—a stone vault was discovered seven feet long by four feet deep. In this was one large skeleton, which seems to have been buried without the head, as no sign of the skull could be found; the bones were much decayed. One spearhead was the only implement found with this skeleton. Just under this vault, and six feet from the top of the mound, was found a second skeleton, ordinary size; it was surrounded by earth and much decayed. At three feet below the last, and nine feet from the top, was a third skeleton, enclosed in the remains of a bark coffin, and surrounded by dry, loose earth. The bones were less decayed than the last. The skull was a “flat head”; it had been artificially compressed. At twelve feet from the top, the earth became mixed with ashes, and so continued for three or four feet. At this depth—say sixteen feet from the top—was found decayed timbers, which, as the excavation progressed, proved to have been a wooden vault about twelve feet square and seven or eight feet high, though much decayed and fallen in from the weight of the superincumbent earth. What remained, indicated that the cover had been roof-shaped. Some of the timbers of this vault were walnut, and twelve inches in diameter. Five skeletons were found within this vault, the principal one was a huge figure, measuring seven feet six inches in length, and nineteen inches between the shoulder sockets. It lay upon the back,

head to the east, legs together, and arms by the sides. It was on the floor of the vault, and nineteen feet from the top of the mound. Beside this, four other skeletons were found within this vault. The irregular positions of the bones indicated that the skeletons (if skeletons) had been placed in standing positions, one in each corner; but the irregular heaps of these bones suggested to some who saw them, the possibility that the subjects may have been buried alive, to accompany and attend their great chief in his journey to the happy hunting grounds and land of spirits. These bones were far decayed, save the forearm of one, which was preserved by two copper bracelets, which were found still in place. Upon the slow oxidation of the copper the salts are absorbed by the bones, giving them a tinge of green, and helping to preserve them from decay.

The large skeleton above mentioned had on each wrist six heavy bracelets of copper; four others were found under the head, which, together with a spearpoint of black flint, were incased in a mass of mortar-like substance, which had evidently been wrapped in some textile fabric. On the breast was a copper gorget; in each hand were three spearheads of black flint, and others were about the head, knees and feet. Near the right hand were two hematite celts, and on the shoulders were three large and thick plates of mica. About the shoulders, waist and thighs were numerous minute perforated shells and shell beads. A handsome stone pipe, carved out of gray steatite, and highly polished, was found in the excavated dirt. In form and finish it is said to be precisely like the pipes of the southern Cherokees, and approaches very closely to a type found in the Miami and Scioto valleys.

The writer visited this group of works about fifty years ago. The whole bottom, mounds, circles and all alike, were then covered by forests; the trees being of great age and large growth; many three feet, and some probably as much as four feet in diameter, indicating that the mounds had not been disturbed, that no new ones had been built, and that neither the race who built them nor their successors had occupied the valley, and actually resided here, for many generations or centuries.

After completing the exploration of the above described mound, Col. Norris transferred his force to the opposite, or southwest side of the river, and commenced the excavation of a large mound on the Creel farm. This is one—and the largest—of a group of mounds and other works on that side of the river; all, evidently, being parts of a general, central city lying on both sides of the river. Col. Norris suggested as a name for this ancient hive of people, "Great Kanawha City."

The Creel mound is conical in form, 173 feet in diameter at the base, and thirty-three feet high. The top has been some-

what cut down and leveled for a site for a judges' stand, for a race course that was laid off around the mound. The excavation in the mound was commenced twelve feet square at the top and sunk to the bottom, narrowing as it went down:

In a very hard bed of mixed earth and ashes, about four feet from the top, were found two much decayed human skeletons, adult size, lying horizontally on their backs, with their heads to the south; and near their heads were several stone implements. From this point downward for about twenty feet, nothing of importance was discovered. The earth was of light gray color, apparently composed of clay and ashes, and was very hard. When a depth of twenty-four feet was reached the earth changed to a much darker and softer material, and there was soon discovered casts and fragments of timbers from six to twelve inches in diameter; also numerous fragments of animal bones, which had been split open, probably for their marrow. At a depth of thirty-one feet from the top, a human skeleton was found lying with the head to the north; it had evidently been enclosed in a coffin or wrapping of bark. A thin sheet of hammered native copper was found in contact with the bones of the skull and had helped to preserve them. At this point the excavation was opened out to a diameter of about sixteen feet to give a better opportunity of finding and examining whatever might lie at the base of the mound. This disclosed the fact that the builders, after having first leveled, smoothed and packed the natural surface, covered it with a layer of bark, inner side up, and spread upon this a layer of fine, clear, white ashes, probably several inches thick, though now pressed down to little more than an inch. On this bed of ashes the bodies were laid, and probably covered with bark.

Examination here brought to light ten other adult skeletons, all extended horizontally, five on each side of the central skeleton, with feet pointing towards, but not quite touching it. Like the first, they had all been enclosed in wrappings of bark. With each skeleton on the east side was an apparently new lance head about three inches long, and by the right side of the northern one a fish dart, three arrow heads and some fragments of unio shells and pottery. No ornaments or implements of any kind were found with the five skeletons on the west side. In addition to the copper plate above mentioned a few shell beads and a large lance head were found with the central skeleton. The accounts of the exploration of the two mounds above described are made up, substantially, from the notes of Col. Norris and the report of Prof. Cyrus Thomas to the Smithsonian Institution, supplemented by the recollections of the writer himself.

In closing his report of the last, or Creel mound, Prof. Thomas says: "As there were a number of holes resembling

post holes, about the base, which were filled with rotten bark and decayed vegetable matter, I am inclined to believe there was a vault here, similar to the lower vault in the Grave creek mound, in which the walls were of timber set up endways in the ground. But it is proper to state that the assistant who opened the mound (Col. Norris), is rather disposed to doubt the correctness of this explanation."

The writer remembers discussing these interesting and unique holes or tanks with Col. Norris, at the time. His (Col. Norris') opinion was, or, at least, it was his suggestion, that they were purposely constructed for water tanks to hold a supply of water to serve the departed on their long journey thither. Some of them were filled with water when discovered, and others partially filled. How did this water get into these tanks? It does not seem probable that it percolated down through the mound for more than thirty feet, nor that it was drawn up by capillary attraction from the earth below. In either case the surrounding earth would have been wet or damp, while, on the contrary, it was quite dry. If they had been the holes of vault posts, they would probably have been symmetrically arranged, perhaps in the form of a hollow square, but they were scattered and irregularly located. If they had been post holes the bottoms would have been irregular and rough, corresponding to the haggled and ragged end of posts cut off, or worn off, by a stone axe, or burnt off by fire; but the bottoms were flat and level, making a right angle with the perpendicular sides. If for posts the sides of these holes would have been irregular and rough corresponding to the shape of the posts, with impressions of knots, bark, etc. These holes were nearly true cylinders, the sides and bottom comparatively smooth, and appeared to have been designedly and carefully smoothed. If post holes, their interiors would have been like the surrounding earth; these seemed to be lined with a composition cement, apparently of clay and ashes. If ordinary post holes they would have been pervious to water; any water put in them, or by any means getting in them, would have found its way through sides and bottom and been absorbed by the surrounding earth, these seemed to be water tight.

Post holes would probably have been of nearly uniform size; these varied greatly in both diameter and depth. In view of all the facts it is more probable that they were post holes or water tanks; or is there any other solution more plausible than either of these? Col. Norris who had had large experience in the exploration of mounds, in several of the districts, had never seen anything of the sort before.

As illustrating the general character of the smaller mounds of this region, many of which were examined by Col. Norris,

descriptions of a few are here quoted from the interesting report of Prof. Thomas.

One twenty feet in diameter and seven feet high, with a "beech tree thirty inches in diameter growing on it, was opened by running a broad trench through it. The material of which it was composed was yellow clay, evidently from an excavation in the hillside near it. Stretched horizontally on the natural surface of the ground, faces up and heads south, were seven skeletons, six adults and one child, all charred. They were covered several inches thick with ashes, charcoal and firebrands, evidently the remains of a very heavy fire which must have been smothered before it was fully burned out. Three coarse lance heads were found among the bones of the adults, and around the neck of the child three copper beads, apparently of hammered native copper.

"Another mound fifty feet in diameter and five feet high, standing guard as it were, at the entrance of an enclosure, was opened, revealing the following particulars; the top was strewn with fragments of flat rocks, most of which were marked with one or more small artificial cup-shaped depressions. Below these to the depth of two or three feet, the hard yellow clay was mixed throughout with similar stones, charcoal, ashes, stone chips, and fragments of rude pottery. Near the center and three feet from the top of the mound were the much decayed remains of a human skeleton, lying on its back, in a very rude stone slab coffin. Beneath this were other flat stones, and under them charcoal, ashes and baked earth, covering the decayed bones of some three or four skeletons which lay upon the original surface of the ground. So far as could be ascertained, the skeletons in this mound lay with their heads toward the east. No relics of any kind worthy of notice were found with them.

"Another mound of similar size, upon a dry terrace, was found to consist chiefly of very hard clay, scattered through which were stone chips and fragments of rude pottery. Near the natural surface of the ground a layer of ashes and charcoal was encountered, in which were found the remains of at least two skeletons.

"A mound some 200 yards south of the enclosure, situated on a slope and measuring fifty feet in diameter and six feet in height, gave a somewhat different result. It consisted wholly of very hard clay down to the natural surface of the hill slope. But further excavation revealed a vault or pit in the original earth, eight feet long, three feet wide and three feet deep at the upper end. In this was found a decayed skeleton, with the head up hill or toward the north. Upon the breast was a sandstone gorget, and upon it a leaf-shaped knife of black flint and a neatly polished hematite celt. The bones of the right arm were found stretched

out at right angles to the body, along a line of ashes. Upon the bones of the open hand were three piles (five in each) of small leaf-shaped flint knives."

The above described four small mounds pertain to the Clifton group, a few will now be given from the extensive group below Charleston, for comparison.

Below No. 7, sunk into the original earth, was a vault about eight feet long, three feet wide and three feet deep. Lying extended on the back in the bottom of this, amid the rotten fragments of a bark coffin, was a decayed skeleton, fully seven feet long, with head west. No evidence of fire was to be seen, nor were any stone implements discovered, but lying in a circle just above the hips were fifty circular pieces of white perforated shell, each about one inch in diameter and an eighth of an inch thick. The bones of the left arm lay by the side of the body, but those of the right arm, as in one of the mounds heretofore mentioned, were stretched at right angles to the body, reaching out to a small oven-shaped vault, the mortar or cement roof of which was still unbroken. The capacity of this small circular vault was probably two bushels, and the peculiar appearance of the dark colored deposit therein, and other indications, led to the belief that it had been filled with corn in the ear.

The absence of weapons would indicate that the individual buried here was not a warrior, though a person of some importance.

"Mound 23 of the same group presents some peculiarities worthy of notice. It is 312 feet in circumference at the base and twenty-five feet high, covered with a second growth of timber, some of the stumps of the former growth still remaining. It is unusually sharp and symmetrical. From the top down the material was found to be a light gray and apparently mixed earth, so hard as to require the vigorous use of the pick to penetrate it. At the depth of fifteen feet the explorers began to find the casts and fragments of poles or round timbers less than a foot in diameter. These casts and rotten remains of wood and bark increased in abundance from this point until the original surface of the ground was reached. By enlarging the lower end of the shaft to fourteen feet in diameter it was ascertained that this rotten wood and bark were the remains of what had once been a circular or polygonal, timber-sided, and conical-roofed vault. Many of the timbers of the sides and roof, being considerably longer than necessary, had been allowed to extend the points of support often eight or ten feet, those on the sides and beyond the cropping and those on the roof downward beyond the wall. Upon the floor and amid the remains of the timbers were numerous human bones, and also two whole skeletons, the latter but slightly

decayed, though badly crushed by the weight pressing on them, but unaccompanied by an ornament or implement of any kind. A further excavation of about four feet below the floor, or what was supposed to be the floor of this vault, and below the original surface of the ground, brought to light six circular, oven-shaped vaults, each about three feet in diameter and the same in depth. As these six were so placed as to form a semi-circle, it is presumed there are others under that portion of the mound not reached by the excavation. All were filled with dry, dark dust, or decayed substances, supposed to be the remains of Indian corn in the ear, as it was similar to that heretofore mentioned. In the center of the circle indicated by the positions of these minor vaults, and the supposed center of the base of the mound (the shaft not being exactly central), and but two feet below the floor of the main vault, and in a fine mortar or cement, were found two cavities, resembling in form the bottle- or gourd-shaped vessel so frequently met with in the mounds of southeastern Missouri and northeastern Arkansas. Unfortunately the further investigation of this work was stopped at this stage of progress by cold weather."

"Mound 31, of this group, seems to furnish a connecting link between the West Virginia and the Ohio mounds. It is sharp in outline, has a steep slope, and is flattened on the top, is 318 feet in circumference at the base and twenty-five feet high. It was opened by digging a shaft ten feet in diameter from the center of the top to the base. After passing through the top layer of the surface soil, some two feet thick, a layer of clay and ashes one foot thick was encountered. Here, near the center of the shaft, were two skeletons, lying horizontally, one immediately over the other; the upper and larger one with the face down and the lower with the face up. There were no indications of fire about then."

"Immediately over the heads were one celt and three lance-heads. At the depth of thirteen feet, and a little north of the center of the mound were two very large skeletons, in a sitting position, with their extended legs interlocked to the knees. Their arms were extended and their hands slightly elevated, as if together holding up a sand-stone mortar which was between their faces. This stone is somewhat hemispherical, about two feet in diameter across the top, which is hollowed in the shape of a shallow basin or mortar. It had been subjected to the action of fire until burned to a bright red. The cavity was filled with white ashes, containing small fragments of bone burned to cinders. Immediately over this, and of sufficient size to cover it, was a slab of bluish-gray limestone about three inches thick, which had small cup-shaped excavations on the under side. This

bore no marks of fire. Near the hands of the eastern skeleton were a small hematite celt and a lance-head, and upon the left wrist of the other two copper bracelets.

"At the depth of twenty-five feet, and on the natural surface, was found what in an Ohio mound would have been designated an 'altar.' This was not thoroughly traced throughout, but was about twelve feet long and over eight feet wide.

"It consisted of a layer of well prepared mortar, apparently clay, slightly mixed with ashes. This was not more than six or eight inches thick in the center of the basin-shaped depression, where it was about one foot lower than at the other margin. It was burned to a brick red and covered with a compact layer of very fine white ashes scattered thickly, through which were small water worn boulders, bearing evidences of having undergone an intense heat. The material of the shaft, after the first three feet at the top, consisted almost wholly of finely packed ashes, which appeared to have been deposited at intervals of considerable length and not at one time."

This last mound much resembles the Ohio otter mounds, but differs in this: that if an otter mound at all, it was also used as a burial mound. Near this a number of stone slab graves, box shaped, were found, also a cache resembling those found in Ohio. There are in this group of works graded roads or streets, with cross roads, the angles were marked by triangular flat stones of two sizes, corresponding to the size of the road. These stones were marked by small cup-shaped excavations on one side. In this group, forming the ancient "Great Kanawha City" of Col. Norris, there are about 100 monuments all told, consisting of mounds, large and small, of earth and stone; enclosures of earth and stone, caches, stone graves, graded streets, etc.

A number of others were examined by Col. Norris, but those above described are typical structures and will serve to show the character of the works of this region.

A comparison of these works with those of Ohio, satisfies Prof. Thomas that "The authors of these structures were also the authors of the Ohio works, or that they belonged to tribes so closely related that they may justly be considered as one people."

In discussing the probable identity of the builders of the Ohio mounds, the Kanawha mounds and the mounds of southwest Virginia, east Tennessee and western North Carolina, Prof. Thomas further says: "I have been and am still disposed to connect the mound-builders of the Kanawha valley with those of western North Carolina, but our explorations in the two sections have convinced me of their close relation to the people whose mysterious monuments dot the hills and valleys of Ohio. That they were related in some way to the mound-builders of

North Carolina and east Tennessee is more than probable, but the key to unlock this mystery, if it exists anywhere, is most likely to be found in the history, traditions and works of the Cherokees, and the traditions relating to the Tallegwi."

It is pretty well established and conceded, that the mounds of Wisconsin and, perhaps, elsewhere in the northwest, were built by the tribes inhabiting the country at the coming of the whites or their ancestors; but the case is quite different in the Ohio district, the works of which are more in doubt and mystery than those of any other part of the country. They seem to be, and probably are, much older than the northwestern mounds. The two principal theories of the origin of the mounds, that is, 1st, that they were built by an ancient, extinct and forgotten race, and 2nd, that they were built by post-Columbian tribes and their ancestors, may each be true in different localities. The effigy and some other mounds of the northwest may have been, and probably were, built in comparatively recent times, while those of the Ohio district may date back to a very remote past.

Early Spanish writers gathered from the traditions of the Mexicans and Central Americans, that the ancient Toltecs had occupied this part of the continent, the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, for a very long time and a very long while ago. Their country was called "Hue-Hue-Thalpalan." Communication was kept up between the Mexican and Central American nations and the dwellers in Hue-Hue-Thlapalan, until finally the Thlapalanese, or Toltecs, were overcome and driven out by hordes of more savage tribes, and returned to the southern regions, whence they had originally come. The time of this return to their ancient southern homes, according to the traditions, was about 2,500 years before Columbus, or 1,000 years before Christ.

Baldwin, in his very interesting work, "Ancient America," quotes de Bourbourg, Cabrera, Torquemada and others in regard to these ancient traditions and the evidences. He thinks they are very plausible and entitled to much consideration; he thinks the close similarity of their works is a strong argument in favor of the identity of their origin. He instances five mounds: Grave Creek, W. Va.; Miamisburg, Ohio; Uxmal, Mayapan and Chitzen-Itza in Mexico and Central America, that are as much alike in their way as any five Gothic churches.

The whole subject is very interesting, but I have no space here to elaborate it. It is a singular fact that what is now Ohio, was uninhabited at the first coming of the whites, in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The tribes that came in later, very naturally knew nothing of the origin or history of the mounds.

Prof. Thomas expresses his conviction that there was during

the mound-building age "a powerful tribe, or association of closely allied tribes, occupying the valley of the Ohio, whose chief seats were in the Kanawha, Scioto, and Little Miami valleys." He further says that "a careful study of all the data bearing on the subject, leads me to the conclusion that the Cherokees are the modern representatives of the Talegwi, and that most of the typical works of Ohio and West Virginia owe their origin to this people. If the Cherokees were descended from or were mixed with the Talegwi, may not the Talegwi have descended from or been mixed with the Thlapalanese or ancient Toltecs?

Most of the works hereinbefore described, are of earth, but there is another interesting class made wholly of stone. Whether they were built about the same time and by the same people who built the mounds and earth enclosures, or whether by a different race, and earlier or later, is not known; certain it is, that they bear marks of very great age.

There is an interesting work of this sort at the mouth of the Kanawha, just across the river from Point Pleasant. As described by an intelligent gentleman living at the spot: It is a stone wall built in a true circle, about 200 feet in diameter, built on the alluvial river bottom, near the river. The wall was originally about six feet high, with a base about two to two and one-half feet thick. The river has cut away the bank until it has encroached upon the stone enclosure, and about fifty feet of it has tumbled down on the beach. The stones are of a size to be carried by one or two men, and were evidently brought from the cliffs back of the bottom, half a mile or more distant. It is presumable that this circular wall was built on the then surface of the general bottom level; and if so, the river has since then deposited about four and one-half or five feet of alluvium, raising the whole bottom that much, so that only a rim of loose stones on the surface now indicates where was originally the top of the wall.

My informant tells me that since the settlement of the country by the whites, there have been but seven recorded rises in the rivers that have overflowed this bottom, and that the deposit from these seven rises has been so small as not to perceptibly raise the level of the bottom; he thinks the aggregate has not exceeded an inch or two. At this rate it will be seen that at least twenty-five to forty centuries would be required to deposit the four and a half or five feet increased elevation of the bottom since the foundations of this stone wall were laid.

In the upper end of the valley, on a high mountain, steep and difficult of access, is an ancient and very remarkable stone work which is but little known, having been seen by comparatively few persons. Knowing that Capt. W. N. Page, C. E., a

gentleman who takes a lively interest in archæological subjects, had made an examination of this work a few years ago, I asked him for a brief statement of what he discovered. He has kindly furnished me with a very full and interesting account of what he saw. I can do no better than to give here his statement entire, as it cannot fail to interest all who may read it.

"Prehistoric Masonry.—Near the summit of the mountain dividing the waters of Loup and Armstrong creeks, in Fayette county, West Virginia, there is found the remains of a very remarkable stone wall, which was well known by the first white settlers in the Kanawha valley, and to the Ohio Indians who passed along this route in hunting and other expeditions, toward the valley of Virginia, where, according to their legends, the buffalo migrated periodically from the Ohio valley, and further west.

"The late Dr. Buster, who was among the first white residents of the Kanawha valley, resided at the foot of this mountain, on the south bank of the river, during a long and active life. No white man had ever occupied the ground upon which his father built his cabin, according to record; and the history of the pale face here, is absolutely complete within his family. Paddy Huddleston, probably the first white settler within the limit of Fayette county, lived just up, and across the river, practically in sight; and from his house Daniel Boone had trapped beaver. In my last interview, about 1877, though a very old man his mind and body were still active and vigorous. He remembered talking to the Indian "medicine men" in his boyhood, as they frequently passed up the river, and discussed this wall, and the numerous relics of bones, stone implements, and pottery found over all the surrounding bottom lands. According to his statements the Indians knew of these monuments, but claimed no part in them. One of their legends set forth the fact that the Kanawha valley had been occupied by a fierce race of white warriors, who successfully resisted the approach of the "red man" from the west for a long time; but had finally succumbed, and passed away in death. The Indians claimed never to have occupied the valley, except for hunting expeditions; that they found these relics old when they first entered; and that their origin was beyond his records.

"Though such legends are not always reliable, a careful study of the conditions, habits of the people, and the bones as found at the foot of the mountain, inevitably leads to more than the suspicion of a prehistoric race, differing from the North American Indian in physiognomy, character and habits.

"Loup and Armstrong creeks empty into the Kanawha from the south, and are nearly parallel—three miles apart—for a distance of about ten miles. Like the river, both creeks have

cut deep gorges through the nearly horizontal carboniferous strata, and the smaller tributaries, heading against the "divide," have also cut to the creek level at the points of junction. The result of this denudation is a mountain, rising 1,500 feet above water level, with ribs, holding their altitude well toward either creek, while the main backbone, or water shed, has alternate knolls and low gaps, with a difference of about 300 feet elevation between the high and low points.

"As the hard sandstones of the 'conglomerate series' are under water level here, the softer, overlying strata of the 'lower barren measures' have been weathered so that the slopes are comparatively smooth. The wall in question has been constructed along an approximate contour of this mountain, about 300 feet below the high summits, and just under the low gaps, conforming as nearly as possible to such a contour, it winds around each rib, or spur, until a low place is found through which to pass, when it finally crosses the main ridge, and returning in the same manner, on the other slope, makes a complete enclosure facing the river, of about three miles in length, and varying in width from a hundred yards to a mile or more. The total length of wall has never been measured, but can hardly be less than eight or ten miles. A single cross wall at a narrow point, divides the enclosure into two nearly equal arms, in one of which there is an unfailing water supply of not more than a half cubic inch flow, from a coal measure which has been cut by a low gap at this point. When I first saw this spring in 1877, the existence of this coal measure was unknown, and the old hunters of the neighborhood were under the impression that the water came from a well, sunk upon the water shed of this gap and filled up by leaves and time. It was a circular pool about six feet in diameter, and three or four feet below the surface. Dr. Buster stated that it was at least ten feet deep when he first saw it; and held to the opinion of a well; but I am satisfied now that it is only the drainage from the coal seam mentioned, upon a floor of impervious clay. It is located on the dip side of the coal escarpment, which by actual survey covers an area of thirty-seven acres, with a maximum covering of about two hundred feet. The hole had probably been scooped out by bear and other wild animals, as the marks upon the neighboring trees from bear's claws, is evidence that this has been, and is yet to some extent, a favorite wallow, in which they roll like swine, and in their gambols, they claw the bark of trees so as to leave the mark as long as the tree may stand. Near this spring, however, and within the partition farthest from the river, there has recently been found two large circular heaps of stone, indicative of some kind of tower structure; and it is more than probable that their

location had reference to the water supply, which is not found elsewhere within the enclosure. These circles were about twenty feet in diameter, and their present appearance indicates an original height of about twenty feet. The wall has been constructed of loose stone, without any kind of cement, and of such dimensions as could be readily handled, without any attempt at quarrying or facing. Along the steepest slopes it has fallen, and can be traced only by the bench of debris, but in places where it crosses the ridges, and had level foundations, some idea of the original dimensions may yet be had. It is safe to estimate a height of six feet, upon a foundation width of from six to eight feet. Nearly all the loose stone within the enclosure seems to have been carried out for use in the structure; but in many instances blocks of the 'black flint ledge' may be observed in the wall, and since the outcrop of this ledge is lower down the slope, it is certain that such stone has been carried up hill. This fact alone is evidence of human labor; but no one can follow the traces far without ample proof of some crude architect, though at an altitude of two thousand feet above tide, the two within the enclosure are large, many exceeding five feet in diameter, with hundreds of years growth. At points may be seen oaks four feet through, evidently sprouted since the foundation of this wall was laid, as the stones have been lifted and misplaced by their growth. Wherever a cliff has been encountered, it has been utilized as far as possible, and as a rule, the wall has been joined to such cliff at the foot, rather than at the top. This would indicate an object to guard against entrance from without rather than from escape from within. As in some instances the cliffs have sufficient slope to enable ordinary animals to descend, but are too steep to climb. The wall has been built with so much batter and so roughly, that it could never have been intended for any kind of fortification, nor to confine, nor to keep out, any but domestic animals. This conclusion is clear, when the question is presented as to who performed the labor and its object.

"The flat lands along the south bank of the river, between the mouths of these creeks, and immediately in front of that portion of the wall facing the Kanawha, varies in width from five hundred to two thousand feet, while the bottoms on the opposite side are very much more extensive, and better suited for agricultural purposes; yet the greater proportion of the bones and relics are found on the south, or wall side. About two hundred acres of this bottom land, near the mouth of Armstrong, is literally filled with the bones and implements of some human race, whose history has been buried with their dead. Four years ago, in the construction of a railway, it became necessary to cut through a part of this ground, near where the old Buster cabin

had stood. This cut was about two hundred feet long, thirty feet wide, and with a maximum depth of ten feet. Within a distance of one hundred feet, there were uncovered about thirty skeletons, all buried in a like position, at an average depth of four feet. There was no evidence of mound, or monument of any kind, except a few loose stones piled upon each set of bones, below the surface, and there was no indication to point to this particular spot, which was near the river's bank. Without exception, the bodies had faced the east, or the rising sun, in a horizontal position from the hips down, and reclining at an angle of about thirty degrees from the waist up. The bones were in a fair state of preservation, but many could be crumbled with the hand. The soil being a sandy loam, had filled every crevice and marrow duct, so that even the skulls were crushed with the weight in handling, and it was with much difficulty that anything was preserved. I measured several skeletons in position, and found them to average about five feet ten inches. With one exception, the cranium was well proportioned, with broad and prominent forehead, and the facial bones more nearly resembled the white, than the red race. This exception was in all probability, a deformity, else it was a very much lower order of animal intellectually, though not physically. The teeth indicated an age of about twenty-five, and imbedded in the front of the lower jaw bone, was a full developed tooth which had never penetrated the bone. The skull was canoe shaped, sharp front and back, long, and very narrow. The occipital bone was out of all proportion, curved under, and terminating in a sharp point. The parietal bones occupied nearly the entire skull area, as the coronal and lambdoidal sutures were so far forward and back of the usual position, that both the frontal and occipital bones were curiosities. The frontal bone was also pointed, and there was no break in the canoe curve from the eye to the nape of the neck. The other bones denoted full and complete development; but he must have been a fearful sight in life. Along with these bones were found those of many food animals, such as bear, deer, elk, &c., birds, and fish scales. About three feet below the surface, a regular stratum of phosphate, about eight inches thick, extended over the greater area of the cut. Upon close examination, enough fish scales and bones remained to indicate its origin. In places, bits of charcoal, slag from melted sand, and pieces of charred bone, showed that they had feasted on cooked meats. The implements found were all stone, pottery and bone. The stone instruments consisted of greenstone celts, precisely the same as those of the Continental stone age, scrapers for dressing hides, flint spear and arrow heads in great abundance in various sizes and shapes, and a lot of quoit-shaped stones, which

had been marked, and evidently used in some system of weights, as many are exact multiples of others. The arrow heads were nearly all of the war variety, made to be left in the wound, and not notched for a thong fastening, as was customary among the Indians with their points for game. Some of these points were the sharpest and slenderest specimens of flint workmanship I have ever seen; they were more than two inches long, and less than half an inch at the shaft end, or widest part, tapered to such a fine point, that they could be used as comfortably as a pin to pick splinters out of the hand. One in particular, had three sharp equal points, which with the shaft end (for which it was notched), made a cross, or four pointed star. The spear heads were unusually sharp, and made for business, as was the case with the edges of the celts. The pottery, like all that found in the valley, was made from the river mussel-shells, coarsely pounded, and mixed with loam. A great variety was found, some of the pieces large and nearly perfect, showing the effects of use, and heat over a fire. The bone implements consisted mainly of long needles, awls, etc., for the manufacture of skins. The eye of the needle was notched to receive the thong, on the same principle as ours of to-day. Those which had been polished were as sharp and sound as when made from the small rib of the deer; but the unpolished portions of the awls had crumbled off. In the line of bone, there was also found 'wampum,' made from very small segments of the spine of some fish or reptile; and the value of each piece seemed to depend upon the amount of labor which had been bestowed upon it. There were no holes through these beads, nor arrangement for stringing them together, consequently they could not have been intended for any kind of ornament. They varied in size from a No. 8 to a No. 2 shot, but each had been carefully polished. Imbedded in the sand, in the mouth of one of the skulls, were found two pieces of thinly beaten copper, nearly three inches long, and rolled as if around an arrow shaft; they had probably been one, broken in two. This was the only metal found; and only one steatite pipe, with the stem very accurately bored and split into halves. The nearest steatite in position lies east of the Blue ridge, in Virginia, and neither this nor greenstone is found in the river silt. It is to be regretted that so little attention was directed to this find by proper official authority, as there was much to illustrate the life, habits and customs of this people. The Smithsonian Institute promised an investigation, but no further notice was taken of the subject. I am satisfied, however, that this particular cut exposed a very small part of what may be found, and that it is not yet too late for a thorough investigation.

"Upon the above brief statement of the facts, speculations must be based until further light can be obtained.

"The first question is, who built this wall, when and for what purpose? It may be safely assumed that it ante-dates any historic record or legends in our possession. The Indians found here knew of its existence, but nothing of its origin or purpose; and as far as we know, they were not a race to undertake such manual labor. The theory among the old hunters, that it was a game pen, is refuted early in an examination, since nothing but a domestic animal could be fenced by such a structure. That it could have been intended for any kind of agricultural purpose, seems equally as improbable for the same reasons, and for the further reason that the location is practically inaccessible, while the valleys below were broad and fertile. In portions of the enclosure there is a deep, rich soil; but a large part of it is a barren, rocky crest, which would certainly have been left out where the same labor might have been better employed. There remains the question of fortification, which seems equally as improbable, except so far as it might have afforded immediate protection in actual fight; but with the weapons probably in use, a tree would have answered the purpose better. Though the towers may have a warlike sound, as a matter of fact, they were in a position where they would have been of the least service in defending the wall against any outside attack, though they might have served to defend the water supply.

"It seems to me that we must look for some other object and conditions, entirely foreign to any Indian custom; and that not only the bones at the foot of this mountain, but the archæological history of the entire Kanawha valley, furnishes a clue. That the Kanawha valley has been densely populated by some prehistoric race, differing from the Indians in intelligence, manners and customs, there can be little doubt. The soil everywhere bears indisputable evidence of their numbers and handiwork, beside which the hundred years of white occupancy and monuments would sink into insignificance with a like test of time. From Kanawha Falls to Charleston, a distance of forty miles, scarcely a post hole can be dug without disclosing some evidence of this people. It has been asserted that the Aztecs, or some Arian race from Mexico, had followed up the Mississippi and Ohio to the Kanawha, and the numerous mounds found in this valley has been cited as one evidence. Such theory is plausible, as the route is a natural highway, followed later by the Spaniards and French without much loss of time. It is also natural to presume that a southern race would have settled in greater numbers along the Kanawha, than in the upper Ohio valleys. But the present question is, whether the bones found

at the mouth of Armstrong creek, without sign or monument, belong to such a race, or to the North American Indian. The physiological features are clearly against the latter assumption; and that they were sun worshipers, is demonstrated by the sameness in position of all the bodies found. The quantities of fish, and bones of large wild animals, prove that they were an active race of meat eaters, that they cooked their food in vessels of clay; and that they were bold, is certain from the large proportion of bears' tusks, some of which were enormous, and must have been ugly customers to tackle with stone weapons. If we connect these bones with the stone wall in question, it seems to me that it can be more readily accounted for in connection with some Essenic religious rite. The elevation of the mountain is such that the sun can be seen much longer than from the valley, and the position of the towers were favorable to such observation; and being near the center, they were doubtless the *sanc-tum sanctorum* of the enclosures, and abode of some high priest. It is more than probable that some kind of serfdom or slavery existed, whose surplus labor was directed to such monuments, probably not so much for record, as for occupation or punishment; as the wampum shows they placed some value on labor.

"A comparison of ages between the wall and bones, would certainly not place the latter ahead of the former, though the reverse might be the result; but it must be borne in mind, that under certain conditions the decomposition of bone is no index to age or time, as it is pretty well authenticated that a period of two thousand years has failed to obliterate a human skeleton, probably as much subject to oxidation as these have been. I am perfectly certain that the Armstrong bones are very ancient, but am not competent to approximate any definite time. I have heard of a similar wall on one of the Paint Creek mountains, ten miles down the river, but have never seen it. As none of our race ever occupied these mountain tops, and they have rarely been visited except by huntsmen, other evidence might easily have been overlooked; and since we have no records more ancient in connection with the human race, it is to be hoped that the subject will receive more attention in the future, than in the past."

Ten miles below this work is another and similar one, on a smaller scale. It is on a high mountain, facing the river, just above the mouth of Paint creek. The characteristics of the two works are so nearly alike that the foregoing description of the one at Loup creek, renders unnecessary any description of the one at Paint creek.

At the base of the Paint creek mountain, too, is an extensive

burying ground, similar to the one described at Loup creek. It is just where the village of Clifton now stands, and such are the numbers of remains, that excavations for any purpose, are almost sure to unearth human skeletons, with stone, bone, earthenware and copper implements and relics.

Within the village of Brownstown, ten miles above Charleston and just below the mouth of Lens creek, is another such ancient burying ground. None of these have been systematically examined, but casual excavations are constantly disclosing the remains of these ancient people and their implements. At Brownstown, not long since, two skeletons were found together, one a huge frame about seven feet in length and the other about four feet, a dwarf and deformed. None of these graves at Loup, Paint or Lens creeks are marked by mounds, stone slabs, stone piles or any other surface indications. The probability naturally suggests itself that those who buried there, and who built these stone enclosures were a different race from the mound-builders.

On a bench, or natural terrace of the mountain fronting the river below Rush creek, is a nearly straight wall connecting with nothing at either end. Possibly it was but part of some plan, left in an unfinished condition. No satisfactory explanation of, or even plausible suggestion as to the purposes and uses of these stone walls has ever been made.

Some young men while hunting on the mountain near Cannelton discovered what seemed to be the walled up entrance to a cave in the face of a cliff. Impelled by curiosity, they pried out the stones and effected an entrance to the cavity, where they found remains of human and of animal bones, flint implements, a piece of coarse woven fabric and some dried berries. The berries were in flat layers between a course of small twigs or stems below, and another course above. This is the only instance, so far as I know, of cave burial in the valley.

Some years ago I examined a stone mound about four feet high, on cemetery ridge back of this city (Charleston) and was surprised to find that very many—possibly, originally, all—of the stones were marked; for what purpose it is impossible to tell, but possibly these marks were the individual signatures, sign-mounds or totem marks of those who contributed, each a stone, to the monument of his departed friend. I have never seen or heard of similar markings in any other mound. These stones have since been carted away and used for fence building.

There have been no very recent examinations and explorations of these ancient works here. The untimely death of Col. Norris brought to an end his useful labors; and the Smithsonian Institution has sent no successor to carry forward the work he

so auspiciously begun. During his stay here his activity and efficiency were evidenced by the fact of his shipping to the Smithsonian Institution over 4,000 specimens of ancient and interesting relics.

Of the hundreds of ancient earth and stone works in the valley there are many yet to be explored, and offer a rich field for the study of the ethnologist and archæologist.



CHAPTER X.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

DANIEL BOONE—CAREER OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS PIONEER—HIS LIFE IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY—BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT—ITS FAR REACHING IMPORTANCE—EVENTS LEADING THERETO—FORCES ENGAGED—THE INDIAN SIDE—OUTRAGES THAT INFURIATED THEM—GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE CONFLICT.



DANAWHA VALLEY was for about twelve years the residence of that remarkable man, Daniel Boone, who deserves more than a mere passing notice, especially as it is not well known to the public, and not now very generally known even here. A few years ago the writer published, in pamphlet form, a short history of his residence in this valley, and will here give a condensed sketch from facts therein contained. His biographers, of whom there are half a dozen or more, devote themselves to his wonderful Kentucky experiences, from 1769 to about 1785, after which they seem to know but little about him, although he lived for thirty odd years after leaving Kentucky. His Kanawha experiences are disposed of in a paragraph or two, to the effect that, about 1792, he settled for a time in Western Virginia, and about 1797 went to Missouri, etc. Instead of in 1792, he probably settled at the mouth of the Kanawha as early as 1786, as there is a deed for land in Kentucky, signed and acknowledged by himself and wife, at Point Pleasant, Va., April 28, 1786, and on record in Fayette county, Ky. While at Point Pleasant, tradition says, he lived on the bank of Crooked Creek, made famous by the battle of the Point. Elderly persons at the point still remember the log cabin, now long gone, in which he is said to have lived. It is supposed that he moved up to this neighborhood about 1788 or '89, and, while here, lived on the south side of the river, nearly opposite the original salt spring, Dr. L. C. Draper, LL. D., who has in preparation and, it is hoped, will shortly publish, an exhaustive biography of Boone, is inclined to think that his residence opposite the salt spring was not a settled family residence, but only a hunting camp, of which he had many. The local traditions here indicate that it was his regular family residence, and his son Jesse Boone, lived at the same place until

about 1816. When the writer came to the county, in 1840, there were still living old men who had hunted and trapped with him; one of them, Mr. Paddy Huddlestone, related many interesting incidents of their joint hunting, trapping and camping experiences. The late Jared Huddlestone, son of Paddy, remembered well to have heard his father tell of his first acquaintance with Boone. A stranger, with rifle and pack, came to his father's (Paddy's) house one evening, about dusk, and asked to stay all night; he seemed tired, did not tell who he was, had but little to say, and soon retired to rest. Next morning, when the family got up for the usual early breakfast, the stranger, with his rifle, was out and gone, but his pack remained, indicating that he had not gone far. It was not long until he came in and got his breakfast, remarking that, as he was an early riser, he had been looking around a little to see if there were any signs of game about, and told them he had discovered fresh beaver signs near the house. He asked if they had any traps; they told him they had no beaver traps, but had a steel trap for catching foxes. "Well," said he to Paddy, "come, young man, get your trap and go with me, and I will show you how to catch beaver." The first day they caught five, and, within a few days, exterminated the colony—about a dozen in all. The steel trap is now in the possession of the writer. The sign which Boone had found was two saplings cut down from a triangle of them, and the beavers had commenced on the third sapling, which, to-day, is a red oak tree, about two feet in diameter, standing at the upper end of Long Shoal, a few miles below the Kanawha Falls. On the 6th of October, 1789, Kanawha county was organized. Of the military organization Col. Samuel Lewis, brother of Gen. Andrew, was colonel, and Daniel Boone, lieutenant colonel. The county was entitled to two representatives in the legislature. The first year, George Clendenin, the founder of Charleston, and Andrew Donnelly, the defender of Donnelly's Fort, in Greenbrier, in 1778, were elected. The next year Daniel Boone and George Clendenin were elected. Boone went to Richmond and returned, on foot. Boone spent much of his time in surveying while here. Mr. T. A. Mathews, surveyor, relates that in re-running the lines of two surveys, of 100,000 acres each, running from the site of Boone C. H. to the Kentucky line, he finds the lines plainly marked, and the names of the party cut in the bark of the trees still legible; they were: "Daniel Boone, George Arnold, Edmund Price, Thomas Upton and Andrew Hatfield. 1795." A report of a survey in this valley made out by him, in his own handwriting, still clear and well preserved, is in the possession of the writer. The last survey made by Boone, before leaving the valley, was on September 8th, 1798; Daniel Boone, marker; Daniel Boone, Jr., and Mathias Van Bibber

chainmen, as shown by the surveyor's books. In one of Boone's hunting and trapping expeditions, up Gauley river, he brought back the top of a sprout of yew pine, an unusual growth, and hitherto unknown to him. He left the brush of pine needles to the end to show to his friends; when it had served this purpose, the end with the needles was cut off, leaving a nice walking-stick. When he left Kanawha, he gave this to his friend, "Tice" Van Bibber, and he left it to his son, David Van Bibber, but recently deceased at about ninety. The cane was presented to the writer a few years ago, and is now in his possession. "In an early day," exact date not known, the family of John Flinn, the earliest settlers on Cabin creek, this county, were attacked by Indians, and Flinn and wife killed. One daughter made her escape alone to Donnelly's fort, Greenbrier, and one daughter and son, Cloe and John, were captured by the Indians. The daughter, Cloe, was afterward rescued by Boone, and, being an orphan, was reared by Boone in his own family, so states Mr. St. Clair Ballard, her grandson, who was a member of the legislature from Logan county, in 1847. When it was proposed to form a new county from Kanawha and Logan, Mr. Ballard related the circumstances of this capture and recovery, and the generous action of Mr. Boone, and proposed, in personal gratitude, and by way of public acknowledgment to Boone, that the new county be called Boone, and his motion was carried by a unanimous vote. The son, John Flinn, who had escaped, or been rescued, was afterward recaptured by the Indians, going down the Ohio, with Skyles, May and Johnson, and burned at the stake. Jesse Boone, son of Daniel, was the first state salt inspector here, when salt was the dominant interest of this valley. His son, Col. Albert Gallatin Boone, himself a famous early explorer, true to the Boone instinct, in the far west, was born here. He was the first white man to camp on the present site of the city of Denver, in 1825. An examination of the old assessors' books of this county to see what property Daniel Boone had, when here, shows that he was not blessed, or cursed, with a large share of the world's goods. He was assessed for taxation with two horses, one negro and 500 acres of land; the land remained on the books in his name until 1803. Boone left here for Missouri in 1799. His starting was the occasion of the gathering of his friends and admirers, from all the region round about, to bid him a friendly adieu and God-speed. They came by land and water—on boats, by horseback and in canoes—and, at the final leave-taking, it is said there was many a dimmed eye and moistened cheek among those hardy, weather-beaten warriors, hunters and pioneers. Boone started from here by water, in canoes, embarking at the junction of Elk and Kanawha rivers. His friend and companion, Tice Van Bibber, went with him to Missouri, but returned to

Kanawha. Boone was never again in Kanawha, but twice returned to Kentucky, once to identify the beginning corner of an important survey, made some twenty or twenty-five years before, and again to liquidate some long-standing indebtedness which he had been unable to pay, owing to the loss of his lands by the gross wrong done him, or permitted, by the State of Kentucky and the general government. The final payment of these debts, which had so long borne upon and disturbed his peace of mind, was, by his own account, one of the happiest incidents and reliefs of his life. While he had but little, it was, he said, a consolation to know that he did not owe a dollar, and that no man could say he had ever wronged him out of a cent. Boone died at the house of his youngest son, Col. Nathan Boone, on the Feme-Osage river, Missouri, September 26, 1820. Col. Albert Gallatin Boone, his grandson, still living, told me, some years ago, that he was with him at the time, and says he passed off gently, after a short illness, almost without pain or suffering. Thus ended the mortal career of one of the most remarkable men the country has ever produced, leaving an imperishable name and fame to after ages. He stands out in history as the great type, model and exemplar of the pioneer, frontiersman, hunter, explorer, Indian fighter and pilot of civilization. His fame is secure forever, without the fear of a rival. The world does not now, and can never again, present an opportunity to duplicate or parallel his life and history. His praises have been sung in the glowing lines of Lord Byron (in "Don Juan"), and by the eloquent tongues and pens of Tom Marshall, Bryan, Flint, Bogart, Filson, Abbott and others, and the history of his wonderful adventures is read with thrilling interest in the mansions of the rich, and the humblest log cabins of the remotest west.

The battle of Point Pleasant, considered merely in relation to the numbers engaged, or the numbers slain, on either side, or both sides, was but an insignificant affair, compared with many of the conflicts of the revolution, which immediately followed, or the mighty shocks of arms of the late civil war; but, up to the time of its occurrence, it was the most evenly balanced, longest continued and desperately contested battle that had occurred in our western country, and its results were freighted with greater, more lasting and far-reaching effects than any other that had occurred. It was a pivotal turning-point, upon which hinged, in great measure, the future destinies of the country. The result of this battle was probably the determining weight in the scale of fortune, so evenly balanced, that decided the fate of the colonies in their struggle for independence. It is, indeed, generally considered, in view of the relations then existing between the colonies and the mother country, and the course pursued by the governor, as the initiatory battle of the revolution; and, by de-

moralizing the Indian tribes, checking for a time their aggressions on the western frontiers and their co-operation with the English, it gave the colonies, who were correspondingly encouraged by their success, time and better opportunities to concentrate their powers and efforts for the mighty struggle about to be, or already inaugurated. Instead of relating simply the isolated story of the fight at the Point, with which persons in this region are already more or less familiar, it may add to the general understanding of the battle and its relations, and a fuller appreciation of its extraordinary importance, to pass in review, briefly, and unincumbered by voluminous details, the long series of preceding steps that led up to, and prepared the way for, this event and the following revolutionary struggle. Beginning this outline review, it is well to go back to 1748, the date of the Ingles-Draper pioneer trans-allegheeny settlement, the first on western-flowing waters. At this time, the French occupied Canada and Louisiana, and, by virtue of the earlier discoveries of LaSalle, Marquette, and others, they were claiming the entire Mississippi and Ohio valleys, while Virginia claimed that her boundaries extended from ocean to ocean. The French, to make their claim to the Ohio valley more formal, sent a company of engineers down the Ohio, in 1749, with engraved leaden plates, which they planted at the mouths of prominent tributaries of the Ohio, claiming for the French crown all the lands drained by the respective streams. About the same time, the "Ohio Land Company," recently organized, was making a move to acquire and colonize 500,000 acres of lands lying along the Ohio, and the "Loyal Land Company" was organized, based upon a grant of 800,000 acres, lying north of the North Carolina line and west of the mountains and New river. In 1750-51, Christopher Gist was dispatched by the "Ohio Company" to examine and select desirable lands along the Ohio. The French, meanwhile, were establishing fortified trading posts, intending to have a chain of them from the lakes to the gulf. In 1753, when serious trouble seemed to be brewing between the French and English, the conflicting claimants of this vast western region, Gov. Dinwiddie, of Virginia, dispatched George Washington, a then promising young man, who had been private surveyor of Lord Fairfax, official surveyor of Culpepper county, etc., on a tour of observation, with letters of inquiry and protest, addressed to the French commander on the upper Alleghany. Washington took with him John Davidson, Indian interpreter; Jacob Van Brahm, French interpreter; Christopher Gist as guide, and four attendants. He was courteously received at headquarters by the French commander, M. De St. Pierre, as a matter of course, but as positively as politely informed that they should maintain their claims to the country. Washington returned at once to Williamsburg, the then seat of government, and in his

report, which was printed, and copies of which were sent to England, he laid stress, among other things, upon the very eligible site for a fortification at the forks of the Ohio, which would command both streams.

In 1754, the "Ohio company" sent a force there, accompanied by a force of forty Virginia militia, under Lieut. Trent, sent by the state. Before their work was completed, the French commander, Capt. Contrecoeur, sent down a largely superior force, drove them off, took possession of their fort, built it stronger, and called it Fort De Quesne, after the governor of Canada. This was the overt act that launched the long and bloody French and English war which raged with violence on both continents for several years. Virginia immediately organized a large force, under Col. Joshua Fry and Lieut-Col. Washington, to recapture the position; Col. Fry dying, en route, the command devolved upon Col. Washington. The expedition resulted in the surprise of a party of French, under Capt. Joutondville, near the Great Meadows, in which the leader Capt. Joutondville, was killed, and all his party either killed or captured. Later, Washington was attacked at Fort Necessity, which he had hastily fortified, by a largely superior French force, and was obliged to capitulate. In the following year (1755), the English government sent over Gen. Braddock, with two regiments of English regulars to co-operate with the Virginia troops. This expedition ended in the disastrous defeat of Braddock's army, almost in sight of Fort Du Quesne, by the French and the Indian allies. In 1758, another and more formidable army was organized, under command of Gen. Forbes, who finally succeeded in capturing and holding Fort Du Quesne, and the following year, a formidable stronghold was built and called Fort Pitt, after the then English premier. The subsequent engagements between the English and French along the lakes and the St. Lawrence need not be followed here (being beyond the geographical limits treated of), except to state that, upon the capture of Quebec, the French finally surrendered, to the English, Canada and all their possessions and claims east of the Mississippi, thus terminating the long and bloody war—the final treaty of peace being ratified at Paris in 1763. The French were now out of the way of settlements, but their savage allies, whom they had instigated and encouraged to resist the encroachments of the whites upon their territory, were still there to dispute every advance upon their hunting grounds; and, although the march of settlement continued steadily westward, every pioneer trail was a trail of blood, and every pioneer family numbered among its members victims of the tomahawk and scalping knife. The expedition sent out from Fort Pitt in 1764, under Col. Bouquet, into the Indian country, resulted in

checking their atrocities for a time, in the recovery of over 300 white prisoners, mostly from the Virginia borders, and a treaty of peace, concluded with Sir William Johnson, the following year. This peace gave an impetus to Western emigration, and by 1772-73 settlements had reached the Ohio at several points, and the main tributary streams and their smaller branches.

Another serious and general colonial trouble was now brewing, growing out of the levying of taxes on the colonies by the mother country, for the expenses of the French and Indian wars, and for a standing army to protect them from the Indians. These and other measures the colonies considered unjust and onerous, and they protested against them with great earnestness and strong feeling. In this state of the case, it was charged that the English instigated the Indians to harass the western borders, so as to occupy the attention of the colonial forces in their protection, and thus prevent resistance to the oppressive measures contemplated by the English in the east. Early in the spring of 1774, it was evident that the Indians were combining for aggressive action. About this time, several murders were committed by both parties, on the upper Ohio. A white man in a trading boat was killed by Indians, some distance above Wheeling creek; within a few days, early in April, Captain Michael Cresap and party killed two Indians, near Wheeling, in a canoe, and followed a larger party down the river, to about the mouth of Captina, where they were surprised in camp and nearly all killed. Within a few days, still in April, Daniel Greathouse and a party of whites attacked an encampment of Indians, about the mouth of Yellow creek, near Baker's house, opposite; after plying them with whisky, they were nearly all murdered. In these two Indian parties—at Captina and Yellow creek—some in each, were all of Logan's family, and they were all killed. Logan charged Captain Cresap with the murder of his kin at Yellow creek, but this is probably a mistake. He was undoubted responsible for the killing at Captina (whether justifiable or not, it is impossible to decide now), but it has been pretty conclusively shown that he was not present at the Yellow Creek massacre. About this time, Bald Eagle, an old and friendly Delaware chief, was wantonly murdered by some straggling whites, set up in his canoe, with a pipe in his mouth, and sent floating down the Monongahela, not the Kanawha, as stated by some. The Indians were terribly exasperated by these murders, and it was soon unmistakably evident that they meant to be avenged. Dr. Connally and Capt. Cresap sent messengers to Williamsburg to apprise the governor of the state of affairs. He dispatched Col. Angus McDonald, with four hundred Virginia militia, in June, to make an incursion into Indian territory, to occupy them at home and prevent their raid on border settle-

ments. Later, when the Indians seemed determined on a general border war, Connally and Cresap again communicated with the governor, who sent for Gen. Andrew Lewis, then a member of the House of Burgesses for Bottetourt county, to consult about a plan of campaign. It was decided that an army of two divisions should be organized as speedily as practicable—one to be commanded by Gen. Lewis, and the other by Lord Dunmore, in person. Gen. Andrew and his brother, Col. Charles, then a member from Augusta county, started at once to the valley of Virginia to get their army from Augusta, Bottetourt and Fincastle counties, while the forces of Gov. Dunmore were to be raised in Frederick, Dunmore (now Shenandoah) and adjacent counties. The governor dispatched Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner to Kentucky, to notify the several surveying parties and the few land hunters and explorers then there; while from the Greenbrier region, Capt. John Stewart dispatched two runners—Philip Hammond and John Pryor—to warn the few settlers on Kanawha, from Kelly's creek to Campbell's creek, of the approaching danger. Gen. Lewis' army rendezvoused at camp Union (Lewisburg), about September 1st, and was to march from there to the mouth of Kanawha; while Gov. Dunmore was to go the northwest route, over the Braddock trail, by way of Fort Pitt, and thence down the Ohio river, and form a junction with Gen. Lewis at the mouth of Kanawha. The army of Gen. Lewis was made up as follows:

1. Regiment of Augusta troops, under Col. Charles Lewis, the captains being George Mathews (in whose company not a man was under six feet in height, and most of them over six feet two inches), Alexander McClannahan, John Dickinson, John Lewis (son of William), Benjamin Harrison, William Paul, Joseph Haynes and Samuel Wilson.

2. Botetourt regiment, under Col. William Fleming. The captains were Matthew Arbuckle, John Murray, John Lewis (son of Andrew), James Robertson, Robert McClannahan; James Ward and John Stewart (author of memoir, etc.)

3. An independent company of seventy men, under Col. John Field, raised by him in Culpepper county.

4. The force under Col. William Christian consisted of three independent companies, under captains Evan Shelby, William Russell and—Herbert, from the Holston, Clinch and New river settlements, then Fincastle county; a company of scouts under Capt. John Draper, of Draper's valley, an independent company under Capt. Thomas Buford, of Bedford county.

The aggregate strength of this southern division of the army was about eleven hundred; the strength of the northern division, under Lord Dunmore, was about fifteen hundred. On the 11th

of September, Gen. Lewis broke camp, and, with Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, an intelligent and experienced frontiersman, as pilot, marched through a pathless wilderness, making as they went, such road as was necessary to get the pack-horses, bearing ammunition and provisions, and their beef cattle over. Their route was by Muddy creek, Keeny's Knobs, Rich creek, Gauley, Twenty Mile, Bell creek and Kelly's creek, to Kanawha, and down Kanawha to the mouth, following the Indian trail at the base of the hills, instead of along the river bank, for the obvious reason that it was thus easier to cross or avoid the creeks and ravines. They reached the Point on the 30th day of September, after a fatiguing march of nineteen days. When Lewis' army started its march from camp Union for the mouth of Kanawha, Col. Field, who in previous service with Lewis in the northwest, had been the senior in command, now manifested some unwillingness to take position under Gen. Lewis, and as his company was an independent one, raised by himself outside of the state order for troops, and as he had recently twice passed through the wilderness, from camp Union to Kelly's creek and back, and knew something of its topography, he started out with his command by a route of his own; on the next or following day, however, two of his men, named Clay and Coward, strayed from the main body to hunt; they were attacked by two Indians, probably spies watching the movements of the army. Clay was shot and killed by one of them, while the other was killed by Coward. After this, Col. Field, acting with judicious discretion, joined the main body of the army, and they marched together harmoniously the remainder of the way. At the mouth of Elk (the present site of Charleston) the army halted long enough to construct some canoes, or "dug-outs," into which the commissary stores, ammunition, etc., were transferred from the backs of pack-horses, and taken the remainder of the way by river. In most or all the accounts of the battle, it is stated that Col. Christian and his regiment were delayed in getting together, and did not arrive in time for the battle. This is, in part at least, an error. Col. Christian did not arrive until late in the afternoon, when the fighting was nearly over, bringing with him the portions of his companies that had been too late in reaching the rendezvous; but captains Russell, Shelby, and Buford, and parts of their companies, were certainly on the ground at the beginning of the fight.

The four men who had made a daylight hunting excursion up the Ohio river bank, on the morning of the 10th, who were the first to see the Indians, and one of whom (Hickman) was killed—the first blood drawn—were members of captains Russell's and Shelby's companies; and Capt. Buford was present, and himself wounded during the day. The army had been gotten together

hastily, as were, also, the supplies, which were not overly abundant. The army was neither well clad nor well fed; they were, perforce, "teetotalers." They had no spirit rations, and neither tea nor coffee, yet they were in good health and spirits, though tired and worn by the hard march through the wilderness. Gen. Lewis waited several days, anxiously expecting the arrival of Lord Dunmore, who, by appointment, was to have joined him here on the 2d of October. Having no intelligence from him, Lewis dispatched messengers up the Ohio river to meet him, or learn what had become of him. Before his messengers returned, however three messengers (probably McCulloch, Kenton and Girty) arrived at his camp on Sunday, the 9th of October, with orders from Lord Dunmore to cross the river and meet him before the Indian towns in Ohio. This is, substantially, the current version of matters; but authorities differ. Some say the messengers arrived on the night of the 10th, after the battle was fought; others say they did not arrive until the 11th, the day after the battle, and Col. Andrew Lewis, son of Gen. Andrew, says his father received no communication whatever from Lord Dunmore after he (Lewis) left camp Union, until after the battle had been fought, and Lewis of his own motion, had gone on into Ohio, expecting to join Dunmore and punish the Indians, when he received an order to stop and return to the point. This order (by messenger) Lewis disregarded, when Lord Dunmore came in person, and after a conference and assurances from Dunmore that he was about negotiating a peace, Lewis reluctantly retraced his steps. In the very excited state of feeling then existing between the colonies and the mother country, it was but natural that the sympathies of Lord Dunmore, a titled English nobleman, and holding his commission as governor of Virginia at the pleasure of the crown, should be with his own country; but it was not only strongly suspected, but generally charged, that, while he was yet acting as governor of Virginia, and before he had declared himself against the colonies, he was unfairly using his position and influence to the prejudice of his subjects. These suspicions, and the supposed grounds for them, will be more fully discussed in a subsequent chapter on Lord Dunmore. According to the account of Col. Stewart, when the interview was over between Gen. Lewis and the messengers of Lord Dunmore, on the 9th, Lewis gave orders to break camp at an early hour next morning, cross the river, and take up their march towards the Indian towns; but the fates had decreed otherwise. At the hour for starting, they found themselves confronted by an army of Indian braves, eight hundred to one thousand strong, in their war paint, and commanded by their able and trustee leaders, Cornstalk, Logan, Red Hawk, Blue Jacket and Elinip-

sico, and some authors mention two or three others. Instead of a hard day's marching, Lewis' army had a harder day's fighting—the important, desperately contested, finally victorious, and ever-memorable battle of Point Pleasant. No "official report" of this battle has been preserved, or was ever written, so far as can be learned. There are several good reasons, apparently, for this omission. In the first place, the time, place and circumstances were not favorable for preparing a formal official report. In the second place, Lord Dunmore, the superior officer, to whom Gen. Lewis should, ordinarily, have reported, was himself in the field, but a few miles distant, and Gen. Lewis was expecting that the two divisions of the army would be united within a few days; and, in the third place, the "strained relations" between the colonies and the mother country were such, and the recent action of Gov. Dunmore so ambiguous, that Gen. Lewis was probably not inclined to report to him at all. In the absence of an official report there is given below, an account of the battle which probably comes nearer to it than anything else extant. Being in Belfast, Ireland, in 1874, a short time before the centennial celebration of the battle at Point Pleasant, and knowing that Belfast, Ulster district, and the north of Ireland generally, had sent a large early emigration to the valley of Virginia, many of whose descendants were in Gen. Lewis' army, and in this battle the writer went to the city library to see if he could find anything there relating to the battle. In examining the files of the *Belfast News Letter* a city paper, which he found preserved in annual bound volumes from its commencement, in 1737 (and now over one hundred and fifty years old), he turned to 1774, and his search was soon rewarded by finding the following very interesting letter, a copy of which was sent to the "Charleston Courier" in time for publication and circulation at the Point Pleasant celebration:

BELFAST.

Yesterday arrived a mail from New York, brought to Fal-mouth by the Harriot packet boat. Capt. Lee.

WILLIAMSBURG, VA., November 10th.

The following letter is just received here from the camp on Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa [as then spelled], dated October 17, 1774:

"The following is a true statement of a battle fought at this place on the 10th instant: On Monday morning, about half an hour before sunrise, two of Capt. Russell's company discovered a large party of Indians about a mile from the camp, one of which men was shot down by the Indians; the other made his escape, and brought in the intelligence. In two or three minutes after, two of Capt. Shelby's company came in and confirmed the account.

"Col. Andrew Lewis, being informed thereof immediately ordered out Col. Charles Lewis, to take command of one hundred and fifty of the Augusta troops, and with him went Capt. Dickinson, Capt. Harrison, Capt. Wilson, Capt. John Lewis of Augusta, and Capt. Lockridge, which made the first division. Col. Fleming was also ordered to take command of one hundred and fifty more of the Botetourt, Bedford and Fincastle troops, viz.: Capt. Thomas Buford, from Bedford; Capt. Love, of Botetourt; Capt. Shelby and Capt. Russell, of Fincastle, which made the second division.

"Col. Charles Lewis' division marched to the right, some distance from the Ohio, and Col. Fleming, with his division, on the bank of the Ohio, to the left.

"Col. Charles Lewis' division had not marched quite half a mile from the camp when, about sunrise, an attack was made on the front of his division, in a most vigorous manner, by the united tribes of Indians—Shawnees, Delewares, Mingoes, Tawas, and of several other nations—in number not less than eight hundred, and by many thought to be one thousand.

"In this heavy attack, Col. Charles Lewis received a wound which, in a few hours, caused his death, and several of his men fell on the spot; in fact, the Augusta division was obliged to give way to the heavy fire of the enemy. In about a second of a minute after the attack on Col. Lewis' division, the enemy engaged the front of Col. Fleming's division on the Ohio, and in a short time the Colonel received two balls through his left arm, and one through his breast, and, after animating the officers and soldiers in a most calm manner to the pursuit of victory, retired to the camp.

"The loss in the field was sensibly felt by the officers in particular; but the Augusta troops, being shortly after reinforced from the camp by Col. Field, with his company, together with Capt. McDowell, Capt. Mathews and Capt. Stewart, from Augusta; Capt. Paulin, Capt. Arbuckle and Capt. McClannahan, from Botetourt, the enemy no longer able to maintain their ground, was forced to give way till they were in a line with the troops, Col. Fleming being left in action on the bank of the Ohio.

"In this precipitate retreat Col. Field was killed. During this time; which was till after twelve, the action in a small degree abated, but continued, except at short intervals, sharp enough till after 1 o'clock. Their long retreat gave them a most advantageous spot of ground, from whence it appeared to the officers so difficult to dislodge them that it was thought most advisable to stand as the line was then formed, which was about a mile and a quarter in length, and had sustained till then a constant and equal weight of the action, from wing to wing.

"It was till about half an hour of sunset they continued firing on us scattering shots, which we returned to their disadvantage. At length, the night coming on, they found a safe retreat.

"They had not the satisfaction of carrying off any of our men's scalps, save one or two stragglers whom they killed before the engagement. Many of their dead they scalped, rather than we should have them, but our troops scalped upwards of twenty of their men that were first killed.

"It is beyond doubt their loss, in number, far exceeded ours, which is considerable.

"The return of the killed and wounded in the above battle, same as our last, as follows:

"Killed — Colonels Charles Lewis and John Field, captains John Murray, R. McClannahan, Samuel Wilson, James Ward, Lieut. Hugh Allen, ensigns Cantiff and Bracken, and forty-four privates. Total killed, fifty-three.

"Wounded — Col. William Fleming, captains John Dickinson, Thomas Buford and I. Skidman, lieutenants Goldman, Robinson, Lard and Vance, and seventy-nine privates. Total wounded, eighty-seven; killed and wounded, one hundred and forty."

Looking further through the *Belfast News Letter* to see if he could find any additional particulars, the writer found the following Williamsburg letter in relation to the movements of Gov. Dunmore:

"AMERICA.

"WILLIAMSBURG, IN VIRGINIA, December 1, 1774.

"We have it from good authority that his excellency, the governor, is on his way to this capital, having concluded a peace with the several tribes of Indians that have been at war with us, and taken hostages of them for their faithful complying with terms of it, the principal of which are that they shall totally abandon the lands on this side of the Ohio river, which river is to be the boundary between them and the white people, and never more take up the hatchet against the English.

"Thus, in a little more than the space of five months, an end is put to a war which portended much trouble and mischief to the inhabitants on the frontier, owing to the zeal and good conduct of the officers and commanders who went out in their country's defense, and the bravery and perseverance of all the troops." — Copied from the *Belfast News Letter* of February 10, 1775.

It will be observed that the foregoing Point Pleasant letter has no signature to it. The letter was, doubtless, signed when written, but why the name was omitted at Williamsburg or Belfast is not known. While there is no name to the letter as printed, it is circumstantially conclusive, that it was written by Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, whom Gen. Lewis had left in command

of the garrison, and charged with the care of the wounded at the Point. There were no enterprising newspaper correspondents at the front in those days; no literary camp-followers or hangers-on; no amateur aids-de-camp, or other fancy gentleman, to write sensational battle reports; there was no Point Pleasant town there then; no citizens nor neighbors to write army letters or battle reports. Outside of Capt. Arbuckle's camp, there was absolutely not a white man within one hundred miles of Point Pleasant, or nearer than the armies then out on Pick-away Plains. It may be assumed, therefore, that the letter was written by Capt. Arbuckle, possibly by order of Gen. Lewis, to be forwarded to the state capital. It was, probably, sent by runners to camp Union, forwarded thence to Williamsburg, and published in the little weekly *Virginia Gazette*, published by Purdie & Dickson, and the only newspaper then published in the colony. This report of the battle is quite meager, it is true, and it is to be regretted that it had not given more of detail; but, as far as it goes, it is evidently a true and accurate account of what transpired, as seen by the writer, himself an active participant throughout. The style of the letter is plain, simple and clear, with no effort at fine writing; no thought of making or glorifying pet heroes, and no wish to be sensational. It was written on the ground, just one week after the battle, with all the facts fresh and clear upon his own mind, and the memories of his garrison and wounded, with whom, doubtless, he had discussed the exciting events over and over, and compared notes, day by day, during the week past. Though short, the simple and unpretentious style of the report is probably calculated to give the average general reader as clear a comprehension of the prominent facts and features of the battle as a half-dozen-column article from a modern army correspondent, largely made up of fulsome flattery of incipient heroes, and of sensational incidents of doubtful authenticity. About ten years after the battle, Col. John Stewart, who had been one of the first permanent settlers of Greenbrier, and who had taken a most active and efficient part in the prominent Indian wars and raids of the period, in this region, wrote a not very full, but exceedingly interesting, memoir of these early times, and troubles, including the battle of the Point; and to this memoir, probably more than to any other one document, we are indebted for what has been preserved of the eventful history of this valley at that period, and it is the basis of much of the history of the region since written. Many years later, Dr. S. L. Campbell, of Rockbridge, wrote a somewhat similar sketch the material being gathered from the recollections of those who had taken part in the events described, chiefly from Mr. Alexander Reed and Mr. William Moore, of Rockbridge. Later, Col. An-

drew Lewis, of the Bent mountain, Va., son of Gen. Andrew, gave, briefly, his recollections of the long ago; and many other longer or shorter sketches relating to the battle of the Point, and other events of this region have been written mostly from traditions, more or less imperfectly and inaccurately transmitted from those who were personal actors or witnesses. Each of these sketches contains some fact, item or incident unknown to or omitted by the others, but as each item fills a gap and helps to make up the general picture, it is only possible now to get a tolerably full and clear idea and understanding of the conditions then existing by gleaning from all the accounts, each of which, alone, gives so little of circumstantial detail. That there are some discrepancies, and conflicts of statement is but natural and to be expected under the circumstances; they are generally unimportant, however, and must be reconciled by comparisons and weight of probabilities. Col. Stewart, one of the first to write about the battle, after Arbuckle's short account, was himself present, was well known to Gen. Lewis (and a relative by marriage), says Gen. Lewis received a message from Gov. Dunmore, on the 9th, telling him to cross the Ohio and join him, and he (Stewart) mentions McCulloch as one of the messengers. Burk, and others, say the messengers came after the battle, and mention Simon Kenton and Simon Girty among the messengers. Col. Andrew Lewis says his father received no communication of any sort from Gov. Dunmore, until ordered to return from Ohio. Dr. Campbell says there was considerable dissatisfaction in Lewis' camp, for some days before the battle growing out of the manner of serving the rations, and especially the beef rations; the men claimed that the good and bad beef were not dealt out impartially. On the 9th, Gen. Lewis ordered that the poorest beeves be killed first, and distributed to all alike. The beef was so poor that the men were unwilling to eat it, and, although it was positively against orders to leave camp without permission, about one hundred men started out before day, next morning (the 10th), in different directions, to hunt and provide their own meat. Many of these did not get back, nor know of the battle, until night, when it was all over. This was a serious reduction of the army at such a time. This circumstance has not been mentioned, so far as known by any other of the early writers. Of the several men belonging to Captains Russell's and Shelby's companies who went immediately up the bank of the Ohio, the two (Hickman and Robinson) who first encountered the Indians belonged, as Arbuckle tells us, to Capt. Russell's company. Of these, Hickman was killed, as above stated, and Robinson escaped to the camp with all speed, and reported an army of Indians that would cover four acres or more. When the approach of the Indians was re-

ported, it is said that Gen. Lewis first quietly lighted his pipe, and then coolly gave his orders for the disposition of the forces as described by Capt. Arbuckle, and generally confirmed by others. Nearly all the accounts of the battle state that Col. Charles Lewis was shot down on the first round, and soon expired at the root of a tree. Dr. Doddridge says he was carried to his tent by Capt. Morrow and Mr. Blair, from Capt. Paul's company, while Col. Andrew Lewis says he received his wound early in the action, but did not let it be known until he had gotten the line of battle extended from the Ohio to Crooked creek; he then asked Capt. Murray, his brother-in-law, to let him lean on his shoulder and walk with him to his tent, where he expired about 12 o'clock. This does not conflict with the statement of Capt. Arbuckle, who says: "He received a wound which in a few hours caused his death." The terrific grandeur of a battle scene can not well be described in cold, common-place language. We shall not attempt the elevated strain necessary to do the subject justice, but will quote briefly, from two authors who have written on this battle. De Hass says:

"The battle scene was now terribly grand. There stood the combatants—terror, rage, disappointment and despair riveted upon the painted faces of one, while calm resolution and the unbending will to do or die were marked upon the other. Neither party would retreat, neither could advance. The noise of the firing was tremendous—no single gun could be distinguished—was one common roar. The rifle and the tomahawk now did their work with dreadful certainty. The confusion and perturbation of the camp had now arrived at its greatest height. The confused sounds and wild uproar of the battle added greatly to the terror of the scene. The shouting of the whites, the continued roar of fire-arms, the war-whoop and dismal yelling of the Indians, were discordant and terrific."

Col. J. L. Peyton, in his valuable history of Augusta county, says:

"It was, throughout, a terrible scene—the ring of rifles and the roar of muskets, the clubbed guns, the flashing knives—the fight, hand to hand—the scream for mercy, smothered in the death-groan—the crushing through the brush—the advance—the retreat—the pursuit, every man for himself, with his enemy in view—the scattering on every side—the sounds of battle, dying away into a pistol shot here and there through the wood, and a shriek—the collecting again of the whites, covered with gore and sweat, bearing trophies of the slain, their dripping knives in one hand, and rifle-barrel, bent and smeared with brains and hair, in the other. No language can adequately describe it."

After these eloquent and thrilling descriptions of the desper-

ate conflict, one can hardly fail to be surprised, when he comes to foot up results, to find that the casualties are so few. Different accounts of the battle state the losses on the part of the whites, in killed and wounded, at 140 to 215; but it may be assumed that Capt. Arbuckle's account, above given, is correct; that is: nine officers and forty-four privates (53) killed, and eight officers and seventy-nine privates (87) wounded; total, killed and wounded, 140. All the early writers claim that the losses of the Indians were greater than those of the whites, but this admits of much doubt. The historians all claim that the Indians were seen throwing their dead into the river all day, but it seems only a vague "they say" sort of a statement, not given upon the positive authority of any reliable person who saw it. While, per contra, Colonel James Smith, who was several years a prisoner among the Indians, spoke their language, knew many of them well, and communicated with them after this battle, says they only admitted the loss of twenty-eight killed outright, and eight who died from their wounds — total, thirty-six; but as they had no muster rolls, and the tribes scattered, they had probably overlooked at least five, as twenty-one were found lying as they fell, and twelve where their friends had partially buried or secreted them, making thirty-three, and the eight who afterwards died from their wounds would increase their loss to forty-one — one of whom Cornstalk himself had killed. This Col. Smith was one of the most intelligent and observant of the many early pioneers who had the hard fate to serve a captivity of several years among the Indians; but to his misfortune we are indebted for his published narrative, after his release, of his personal adventures and results of his observations, which is probably the best record extant, of the manners and customs, and every-day life of the Indians at that period of their history. Among the eighty-seven wounded whites, it would seem probable that some died of their wounds in the hospital; but, if so, there is no published list or mention of them. To Col. Christian, who, as generally stated, arrived about four o'clock, when the battle was nearly over, was assigned the duty of gathering up and burying the dead whites; most of them were buried in a common grave or trench, with only their blankets for coffins and shrouds. A few, whose friends wished to remove them, were buried in separate graves. The Indians were not given burial at all, but left to pollute the air until the birds, the animals and the elements had disposed of them. The Indians, during the battle, had some of their warriors stationed on both sides of the river, below the Point, to prevent the possible escape of the whites by swimming the river from the extreme point, in the event of defeat. Col. Fleming was early wounded by two balls through his left wrist, but he continued to give his orders with

coolness and presence of mind, calling loudly to his men: "Don't lose an inch of ground! Try to outflank the enemy! Get between them and the river!" but he was about to be outflanked himself, and was only saved by the coming up of Col. Field, with reinforcements, when he was again shot, through the lungs, and carried off the field. Several times the Indians retreated, to draw out the whites from cover—a favorite ruse of theirs—and then advanced again. During one of these moves, Col. Field was leading on his men in pursuit, when he was fatally shot. Gen. Lewis, warned by the loss of so many brave officers and men, of the danger of possible disaster, put a large force of his reserves to cutting and felling trees in a line across the angle between the rivers, making a breastwork for his men, and protection for the camp, if he should be driven back to it. It is rather remarkable that not one of the Indian leaders was killed or wounded. They certainly fought bravely. During the battle it is said that the stentorian voice of Cornstalk was often heard, commanding and encouraging his men. Capt. Stewart at one time asked some one near him, who understood something of the Indian language, what it was that Cornstalk was saying; in reply he said, the English equivalent of the expression is: "Be strong! Be strong!" To punish an individual act of cowardice, during the battle, and to serve as a warning to others, and, possibly, prevent demoralization in his army, it was said that Cornstalk cleft the skull of one of his own men with his tomahawk. This is given on the authority of Cornstalk himself, subsequently obtained; he also stated that he had opposed the battle, and advised a conference with Gen. Lewis, on the eve of the fight, to treat for peace, but he was overruled, when he said to them: "Then if you will fight, you shall fight, and I will see that you do fight!" It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when Gen. Lewis detailed Captains Shelby, Matthews and Stewart to make a detour and flank movement up Crooked creek. This was entirely successful, and was the decisive move of the day. As soon as the Indians discovered it, thinking it was Col. Christian arriving with fresh reinforcements, they began their final retreat. They kept up a show of fighting by desultory fighting, to keep the whites in check while getting away with their wounded, which they accomplished with entire success. Some historians of the battle claim that the Indians were pursued, on their retreat, by the whites, from one to three miles, but the evidence is not satisfactory. Gen. Lewis' army had fought from sunrise to sunset, without food or rest, and were, consequently, fatigued, hungry and exhausted, and in no condition to pursue. To have attempted it in the darkness of the night would have been to risk being

ambushed and exterminated. In the exhausted condition of the armies, we assume that one side was as glad to be let alone as the other, and that there was no pursuit. Probably the first man killed when the battle opened, and after the hunter, Hickman, had been killed a mile above the camp, was Capt. Frogg. He was not commanding a company, but was a sutler. When the order was given to advance, he took his gun and volunteered to fight with the rest. He was a nervous, excitable man, and kept not only even with the front rank, but generally several steps in advance, as there were yet no Indians in sight. He was gaudily dressed in bright colors, and had his hat rigged with ribbons or feathers; suddenly the Indians arose from an ambush in a paw-paw thicket, and fired a volley into the advance. Capt. Frogg, from his advanced position and gaudy dress, had probably been mistaken for an officer of rank, and was riddled with bullets. He had, unfortunately for himself, drawn the fire of the enemy, and, possibly, saved the lives of several others. A few days after the battle, there was a sale, at auction, of sundry articles captured from, or lost by, the Indians during the day. They brought, in the aggregate, £74. 4s. 6d. These two last items are given on the authority of Col. B. H. Smith's centennial address at Point Pleasant in 1874, and he got them from the traditions of his ancestors, who were in the battle. It is said that three Indians were successively shot down over one body in the, at last, unsuccessful effort to secure a much-coveted scalp. The wonderful powers of endurance of the Indians may be estimated from the facts that they occupied the night of the 9th in crossing the river, marched three miles by sunrise on the morning of the 10th, fought from sunrise till dark, remarched three miles, and recrossed the river on the night of the 10th, with little or no opportunity for food or rest. Collins, in his admirable history of Kentucky, says that Capt. James Harrod, who had a company of forty-two colonists in Kentucky, taking up lands and building improvers' cabins, in 1774, left the country with the surveyors and others, when warned out by Boone, took most of them with him up to the point, and "lent a helping hand" in the bloody fight. The weather on the 10th of October, the day of the memorable battle, was clear and pleasant, and the rivers were low. On Tuesday, the 11th, Gen. Lewis strengthened the fort, provided for the wounded and prepared for the march, and on Wednesday, the 12th, crossed the Ohio and started to join Lord Dunmore. It is believed that he crossed not far below the mouth of "Old Town creek," and about where the Indians had crossed and recrossed. The original camp and fort at the point stood in the angle of the rivers, a little nearer the Ohio, and a little below the present Virginia street; and here the brave Virginians,

who had lost their lives in defense of her borders and their own homes, were laid to rest. Since that day the Ohio has cut away its banks very much, encroaching upon the site. One of the last official acts of Gov. Dunmore, before fleeing from the wrath of his unloving subjects, was to order the disbanding of the garrison at the Point, in 1775, hoping thus to encourage and facilitate Indian raids upon the western settlements. The governor was then fully committed to the English side in the revolutionary struggle. It was not long, however, till a larger fort was constructed, changing the location to the site of the large brick storehouse of the late James Capeheart, and it was called Fort Randolph. How long this fort stood, is not now known, but Col. Andrew Lewis says he was at the Point in 1784, when there was little or no sign of it left.



CHAPTER XI.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

LORD DUNMORE—HIS CONDUCT WHILE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA COLONY—HIS TREACHERY TO THE FRONTIERSMEN—HIS SUBSEQUENT RASCALLY CONDUCT—POINT PLEASANT AS A MILITARY SCHOOL—NOTABLE CHARACTERS OF THE PLACE—GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS—LOGAN, THE MINGO CHIEF—CORNSTALK, THE FAMOUS INDIAN COMMANDER.



It has been stated that there were not only suspicions, but grave charges, that Governor Dunmore acted a double part, and that he was untrue and treacherous to the interests of the colony he governed. As he is inseparably connected with this campaign (often called the Dunmore war), and its accompanying history, and the inauguration of the revolution, it may be well to briefly allude to his official course just before, during and after the campaign that his true relations to it, and to the colony, may be understood; and, also, to show that the "revolution" was really in progress; that this campaign was one of the important early moves on the historical chess-board, and that the battle of Point Pleasant was, as generally claimed, the initiatory battle of the great drama. In the summer of 1773, Governor Dunmore made, ostensibly, a pleasure trip to Fort Pitt; here he established close relations with Dr. Connally, making him Indian agent, land agent, etc. Connally was an able active and efficient man, who thereafter adhered to Dunmore and the English cause. It is charged that Connally at once began fomenting trouble and ill-feeling between the colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania in regard to the western frontier of Pennsylvania, then claimed by both colonies, but held by Virginia, hoping by such course to prevent the friendly co-operation of these colonies against English designs; and, also, to incite the Indian tribes to resistance of western white encroachments upon their hunting grounds, and prepare the way for getting their co-operation with England against the colonies, when the rupture should come. In December, 1773, the famous "cold-water tea" was made in Boston harbor. In retaliation the English government blockaded the port of Boston, and moved the capital of the colony to Salem. When this news came, in 1774, the Virginia assembly, being in session, passed resolutions of sympathy with Massachusetts, and strong

disapproval of the course of England; whereupon Governor Dunmore peremptorily dissolved the assembly. They met privately, opened correspondence with the other colonies, and proposed co-operation and a colonial congress. On the 4th of September, 1774, met, in Philadelphia, the first continental congress—Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, president; George Washington, R. H. Lee, Richard Bland, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton members from Virginia. They passed strong resolutions; among others, to resist taxation and other obnoxious measures; to raise minute men to forcibly resist coercion; and, finally resolved to cease all official intercourse with the English government. In the meantime, Dr. Connally had been carrying out the programme of the northwest. He had taken possession of the fort at Fort Pitt, and renamed it Fort Dunmore; was claiming lands under patents from Governor Dunmore, and making settlements on them; had been himself arrested and imprisoned for a time by Pennsylvania; had the Indian tribes highly excited, united in a strong confederacy and threatened war; then came the massacre of Indians above Wheeling, at Captina and at Yellow creek, said to have grown out of Connally's orders. While the continental congress was passing the resolutions above mentioned, and which created a breach between the colonies and the mother country past healing, Governor Dunmore and General Lewis were organizing and marching their armies to the west. Instead of uniting the forces into one army, and marching straight to the Indian towns and conquering or dictating a lasting peace, Lord Dunmore took the larger portion of the army by a long detour by Fort Pitt, and thence down the Ohio, picking up on the way Dr. Connally and Simon Girty, whom he made useful. At Fort Pitt, it is said, he had held a conference with some of the Indian chiefs, and came to some understanding with them, the particulars of which are not known. Instead of uniting with Lewis at the mouth of Kanawha, as had been arranged, but which was probably not intended, he struck off from the Ohio river at the mouth of the Hocking and marched for the Indian towns on the Pickaway plains, without the support of Lewis' army, delaying long enough for the Indians to have annihilated Lewis' division, if events had turned out as Cornstalk had planned. He (Cornstalk) said it was first their intention to attack the "Long Knives" and destroy them, as they crossed the river, and this plan would have been carried out, or attempted, but for the long delay of Lewis' awaiting the arrival of Lord Dunmore. They afterwards, upon consultation, changed their plans, and determined to let Lewis cross the river and then ambush him somewhere near their own homes, and farther from his (Lewis') base; but the Indians had no organized commissary or transportation

arrangements, and could only transport such amount of food as each brave could carry for his own sustenance; this was necessarily, a limited amount, and Lewis' delay in crossing had run their rations so short that they were obliged to cross, themselves, and force a fight, or break camp and go to hunting food. They crossed in the night, about three miles above the point, on rafts previously constructed, and expected to take Lewis' army by surprise; and it has been seen how near they came to accomplishing it. It was prevented by the accident of the early hunters, who were out before daylight, in violation of orders. Col. Andrew Lewis (son of General Andrew,) in his account of the Point Pleasant campaign, says: "It is known that Blue Jacket, a Shawanee chief, visited Lord Dunmore's camp, on the 9th, the day before the battle, and went straight from there to the Point, and some of them went to confer with Lord Dunmore immediately after the battle." It is also said that Lord Dunmore, in conversation with Dr. Connally, and others, on the 10th, the day of the battle, remarked that "Lewis is probably having hot work about this time."

When Lewis had crossed the river, after the battle, and was marching to join Dunmore, a messenger was dispatched to him twice in one day, ordering him to stop and retrace his steps—the messenger in each instance, being the afterward notorious Simon Girty. Gen. Lewis had, very naturally, become much incensed at the conduct of Lord Dunmore, and took the high-handed responsibility—advised and sanctioned by his officers and men—of disobeying the order of his superior in command, and boldly marching on towards his camp. When within about two and a half miles of Lord Dunmore's head-quarters, which he called Camp Charlotte, after Queen Charlotte, wife of his master, George III., he came out to meet Lewis in person, bringing with him Cornstalk, White Eyes (another noted Shawanee chief), and others, and insisted on Lewis' returning, as he (Dunmore) was negotiating a treaty of peace with the Indians. He sought an introduction to Lewis' officers, and paid them some flattering compliments, etc. Evidently it did not comport with Lord Dunmore's plans to have Gen. Lewis present at the treaty, to help the negotiation by his suggestions, or to have the moral support of his army to sustain them. So much did Lewis' army feel the disappointment and this indignity, that Col. Andrew, his son, says that it was with difficulty Gen. Lewis could restrain his men (not under very rigid discipline, at best) from killing Lord Dunmore and his Indian escort. But the result of the personal conference was that Gen. Lewis, at last with the utmost reluctance of himself and army, consented to return, and to disband his army upon his arrival at Camp Union, as ordered. Suppose Lewis had attempted to cross the river, and been de-

stroyed, or had crossed and been ambushed and demolished in the forest thickets of Ohio, or that Cornstalk had succeeded, as he came so near doing, in surprising him in his own camp, on the morning of the 10th, or after that; suppose the Indians had succeeded in turning the so evenly balanced scale in their favor, during the fight, as they came so near doing, and had annihilated Lewis' army, as they might then have done, having them penned up in the angle of two rivers, who can doubt, in view of all the facts above noted, that Lord Dunmore would have been responsible for the disaster? Who can doubt, as it was, that he was responsible for the unnecessary sacrifice of life, at the Point, on the 10th? Who can doubt that, with the two divisions of the army united, as per agreement, and Lord Dunmore and Lewis acting in unison and good faith, they could have marched to the Indian towns, and utterly destroyed them, or dictated a favorable and lasting peace, and maintained it as long as they pleased, by holding important hostages? But, clearly, the policy of the governor was dictated by ulterior and sinister motives; his actions were not single-minded. Col. Andrew Lewis says: "It was evidently the intention of the old Scotch villain to cut off Gen. Lewis' army." Burk, the historian, says: "The division under Lewis was devoted to destruction, for the purpose of breaking the spirit of the Virginians." Withers, Doddridge, and others, express the same views. Gen. Lewis and his army were convinced of the fact; Col. Stewart had no doubt of it, and nearly every one who has written on the subject has taken the same view of it. A few only are willing to give him the benefit of a doubt. If this design to destroy Lewis' army had succeeded, it is almost certain that the English, through Lord Dunmore, would have perfected an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the victorious Indians, against the colonies, and every white settlement west of the Alleghenies would probably have been cut off. It would have been difficult or impossible, for a time, to raise another army for the defense of the western border; the tory element would have been encouraged and strengthened, the revolutionary element correspondingly discouraged, the rebellion (?) crushed, and Lord Dunmore would have been the hero of the age. Upon what slender and uncertain tenures hang the destinies of nations, and the fate of individuals! The closely-won success of Lewis was not only an immediate victory over the Indians, but a defeat of the machinations of the double-dealing governor, and the projected Anglo-Indian alliance. In this view of it is established the claim of the battle of Point Pleasant as being the initiatory battle of the revolution; and, although small in itself, when its after results and influences are considered it stands out in bold relief as one of the important and decisive victories of history. A few words more and we shall be done with Lord

Dunmore. Upon his return to Williamsburg, the Assembly, upon his own ex parte statement of the results of the campaign, passed a vote of thanks for his "valuable services," etc., which, it is said, they very much regretted when they learned more of the facts. Just after the battle of Lexington (April 18, 1775), he had all the powder that was stored in the colonial magazine at Williamsburg secretly conveyed on board an armed English vessel lying off Yorktown, and threatened to lay Williamsburg in ashes at the first sign of insurrection. Patrick Henry raised a volunteer force to go down and compel him (Dunmore) to restore the powder; but as this was impracticable, he agreed to pay, and did pay, for it, and then issued a proclamation declaring "One Patrick Henry and his followers rebels." He had previously threatened Thomas Jefferson with prosecution for treason, and had commenced proceedings. About this time, having previously sent his family on an English naval vessel, he made his own escape, by night, to the English fleet, and commenced a system of depredations along the coast, burning houses, destroying crops, etc. He tried to bring his scheme of Indian co-operation to bear, and sent a message to his old friend, Connally, with a commission as Colonel, and instructed him to secure the co-operation of as many of the western militia commanders as possible, by large rewards; to form an alliance with the Indians, collect his forces at Fort Pitt, and march through Virginia and meet him. Fortunately, Col. Connally was captured and imprisoned, and the scheme exposed and thwarted. He (Dunmore) issued a proclamation granting freedom, to all the slaves who would flock to his standard, and protection to the Tories. Among other acts of violence, he burned Norfolk, the then largest and most important town in Virginia. Upon his flight, the Assembly met and declared his office vacant, and proceeded to fill it; and, for the first time, Virginia had entire "home rule." Upon the petition of citizens of Dunmore county, which had been named in his honor, the name was abolished, and the county called Shenandoah. In 1776, Lord Dunmore and his fleet and hangers-on were at Guynne's Island, in the Chesapeake Bay, where, as an interesting example of poetic or retributive justice, Gen. Lewis, in command of the Virginia troops, attacked, defeated and drove them off, with heavy loss, Gen. Lewis, himself, firing the first gun, soon after which the ex-Governor, a sadder and wiser man, "left the country for the country's good."

Point Pleasant was a sort of developing high school, which prepared a class of military heroes and statesmen from the apt pupils who had been learning and practicing the preliminary lessons of border warfare in the isolated settlements, and occasional Indian raids that had been made upon their families,

all along the western frontiers, and sent them out to serve their country usefully, and make honorable records for themselves, in after years, all along the borders and newly developing western states, and elsewhere. A brief sketch of, or allusion to, the more prominent persons known to have been present on this memorable occasion, or otherwise connected with it, may be of interest. Gen. Andrew Lewis, one of the high professors and proficient in this military school, had had eventful experiences. He commenced his military career with Washington at Great Meadows and Fort Necessity, in 1754, where he was twice wounded. In the following year, with three brothers, he was with Braddock and Washington, in Braddock's disaster, where three of the four brothers were wounded. In the following year (1756), he commanded the "Big Sandy expedition" against the Shawanees; in 1758 he was with Gen. Forbes and Washington at the capture of Fort Du Quesne, where he was again wounded. Subsequently, he was in the service of his colony in defending her western borders, acting as commissioner in negotiating treaties, or as member of the House of Burgesses. It was at the treaty of Fort Stanwix that the governor of New York, in commenting on his majestic figure and commanding appearance, said of him: "He looks like the genius of the forest, and the very ground seems to tremble under him as he walks along." Col. Stewart, in his memoir, says of him: "He was upwards of six feet high, of uncommon strength and agility, and his form of the most exact symmetry. He had a stern countenance, and was of a reserved and distant deportment, which rendered his presence more awful than engaging." Mr. Alexander Reed, of Rockbridge, who was in the battle of the Point, says of him: "He was a man of reserved manners, and great dignity of character—somewhat of the order of Gen. Washington." It is known that Washington considered him one of the foremost military men of the country, and recommended him as commander-in-chief of the armies. Gen. Lewis had beside his brother Charles, three sons in the battle of Point Pleasant; John, a captain, and Samuel and Thomas, privates. Samuel was wounded. There were a number of others here, his relatives by blood or marriage and a large part of his army was composed of the sons of his friends and neighbors. It was a class of material not accustomed to restraint, and not amenable to very rigid discipline. This may account for the statement sometimes made that the discipline of his camp was somewhat lax. He knew their metal, and knew that when fighting was to be done he could depend upon them, and contented himself with this knowledge. Up to this time, Gen. Lewis had fought under British colors, against the French and against the Indians, but this battle was the pivotal point; henceforth his guns were turned

against the British flag (and, strangely enough, in conjunction with the French), until it was driven from our shores. Like Moses of old, he was not permitted to enter into the rewards of his long and arduous labors. He was taken ill with fever, not long before the surrender at Yorktown, and started for his home on the Roanoke, in then Bottetourt, now Roanoke county, but died on the way, at the house of his friend, Col. Buford, at the eastern base of the Blue Ridge. He was brought home and buried on his own magnificent estate, called "Dropmore," lying just outside the limits of the town of Salem, where he rests, solitary and alone, under the spreading branches of the forest trees, on an eminence overlooking, for many miles, up and down, the river and valley of the beautiful Roanoke. But there is yet more to be told, though it is painful to report the sad condition of this lonely grave; there is no marble shaft, nor granite column, nor slab of stone, nor mound of earth, to mark the spot where the hero sleeps. It is enclosed by no wall of stone, or brick, no railing of brass, or iron, or wood, and loose stock roam over it at will. Shall the grave of the old patriot, who fought his country's battles for twenty-seven years — from 1754 to 1781 — from "Great Meadows" almost to Yorktown; who mingled his own blood with the first French blood shed in the first engagement of the great Anglo-French war; who saw his brother slain and his son wounded at the battle of the Point, the first blood shed in the great revolution that gave us our liberties, and who drove the last foreign governor from our colonial shores; the friend and companion of the immortal Washington, longer suffer this cold neglect?

Will not some appreciative and patriotic American in our halls of congress do himself the honor to bring this matter to the attention of our justice-loving and merit-rewarding government, that is spending millions in pensions to the brave men who fought her more recent battles, and hundreds of thousands to honor the memories of the brave officers who led them, or served their country in other fields, and give them the opportunity to honor themselves by doing the tardy justice to embalm in marble, or granite, or brass, either on the site of his grave or at the capital of the nation, the memory of the "Hero of Point Pleasant?" Col. Charles Lewis, a younger brother of Gen. Andrew, and the youngest of five brothers, was, by many, considered "the flower of the flock." He was a man of magnificent physique, as were all the family. He was credited with a more amiable temperament and genial disposition than Gen. Andrew, and was more beloved by his neighbors and his soldiers, while both, alike, were honored and esteemed for their acknowledged bravery, high character and spotless integrity. Col. Charles was said to be the idol of the army.

He had had large, active and honorable military experience, from Braddock's war down to date, and it is believed that he would have achieved greater honors and distinction in the revolutionary struggle if his life had been spared; but his brilliant career was ended in glory on this field. Col. William Fleming was a Scotchman of high lineage by birth, a doctor by profession, a resident of Albemarle county, a man of learning and culture. He was ~~bravely~~ wounded in this battle, but recovered, and was afterwards, for a time, acting governor of Virginia, but not an elected Governor, as sometimes stated. Col. John Field was a native of Culpeper county, Va., had seen active service in Braddock's war and after, had been on the Kanawha a few months before, entering and surveying lands at Field's creek (named after him), and Kelly's creek, where Walter Kelly was shot down by his side, and he narrowly escaped by running eight miles through the wilderness, to the Greenbrier settlements. Col. Field raised a force of volunteers in his own county for this campaign, and united it with Gen. Lewis' army. It was his timely and vigorous advance on the field that checked the retreat both of Lewis and Fleming's forces, when both leaders had been wounded. He received his fatal wound at the front, after he had succeeded in turning the tide of battle, and was bravely leading on his command in active pursuit of the then retreating foe. Col. Field's remains were never removed from the Point, but still lie there, surrounded by the other brave men who fell around him. Col. Christian was descended from an ancient Scotch family of high degree, who lived on the Isle of Man. The immediate ancestors of Col. William were among the earliest to settle in the valley of Virginia, on Christian's creek, near the site of Staunton. Col. William was a man of education and refinement. He married a sister of Patrick Henry. He was not himself present in the early part of the battle of the Point, though a portion of his regiment was, and he arrived, with the remainder, about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the fighting was nearly over. He removed to Kentucky a few years after this date, and was finally killed, near the falls of the Ohio, while in pursuit of a raiding party of Indians, who had committed some depredations upon his neighbors. Col. William Preston, of Smithfield, intended to accompany Gen. Lewis and participate in the events of this campaign, but, as his young wife was on the eve of becoming a mother, he remained at home to await the interesting event, which occurred about the date of the battle, and too late to join the army. The child born afterwards became Governor James Preston, of Virginia, the father-in-law of Governor John Floyd, and the grandfather of Governor John B. Floyd.

Capt. Evan Shelby, originally from Maryland, settled on the

Holston, in southwest Virginia, about 1771. He raised a volunteer company for Lewis' army, and joined Col. Christian's regiment. He was present when the fight began. After Colonels Lewis, Fleming and Field had been killed or disabled, he was the ranking officer, until Col. Christian arrived. He it was who led the three companies (his own, Matthews' and Stewart's) on the flank movement up Crooked creek, which was so successful in finally putting the Indians to flight, and deciding the fortunes of the day. Capt. Shelby afterwards became Col. Evan Shelby, and had a distinguished career in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Capt. George Matthews, of Augusta county, with his splendid company, nearly every man of whom, as heretofore stated, was over six feet two inches in height, was one of the three captains who made the successful Crooked creek detour. He afterward became the distinguished Gen. George Matthews of the Revolution, hero of Brandywine, Germantown and Guilford, Governor of Georgia, United States Senator, etc. Capt. John Stewart, one of the first permanent settlers and defenders of Greenbrier, and one of the three captains who executed the Crooked creek flank movement, afterward became Col. John Stewart, took an active part in several subsequent Indian engagements, built on his estate a private fort, called "Fort Spring," was first clerk of Greenbrier county, author of the fullest account of this battle, and ancestor of a large and honorable family of descendants. Capt. William Russell raised a volunteer company in the Clinch and New river settlements, and joined Col. Christian's regiment. He was in the battle at its commencement; the first blood shed was that of Hickman, one of his men, who had started out for an early hunt up the Ohio river. Capt. Russell afterward became Col. William Russell, and father of Col. William Russell, both distinguished citizens of Kentucky. Capt. Moore became Gen. Andrew Moore, of Rockbridge county, United States Senator, etc. Capt. McKee became Col. William McKee, of Kentucky. Lieut. Shelby became Gen. Isaac Shelby, a prominent factor at King's Mountain, Long Island (Holston), battle of the Thames, and other engagements, first Governor of Kentucky, and afterward secretary of war, under Monroe. Lieut. Thomas Ingles, who had been the first white child born west of the Alleghenies, and had been thirteen years prisoner among the Indians, became Col. Thomas Ingles, and had a very eventful career, as herein elsewhere related. William and John Campbell became Gen. William and Col. John Campbell, the heroes of King's mountain. Charles Cameron became Col. Charles Cameron, of Bath county, Va. Bazaleel Wells became Gen. Bazaleel Wells, a distinguished citizen of Ohio. John Steele, who was shot through the lungs here, survived and became Col. John Steele, of the Revolution, a large land owner and

salt dealer in this valley, and Governor of Mississippi. John Lewis became Maj. John Lewis, a prominent citizen of Monroe county, Va. Lieut. Tate became Gen. Tate, a distinguished citizen of Washington county, Va. Lieut. John Draper, who had been one of the founders of the "Draper's Meadows" settlement, was the ancestor of the prominent and honorable family of Draper's valley, Va. Capt. Ben Harrison, according to the family tradition, was engaged in the successful flank movement up Crooked creek, with Shelby and others. The Harrisons were a prominent and influential family in the valley of Virginia, and founders of Harrisonburg; related to Benjamin Harrison, signer of the declaration of independence, Pres. W. H. Harrison, etc. Capt. Daniel Smith was with Col. Charles Lewis at the front, when Lewis received his fatal wound. Capt. Smith was afterwards a prominent man in the valley of Virginia, was long the presiding justice in his county, was the ancestor of Judge Daniel Smith, of that district, and of Col. B. H. Smith, of this city. Capt. John Dickinson, a few years later, "entered" and surveyed the five hundred and two acres of land at and about the mouth of Campbell's creek, containing the original salt spring, or Buffalo Licks. George Clendenin afterwards became the founder of Charleston, the capital of West Virginia; was first member of the legislature from Kanawha county, and, next year, fellow-member with Daniel Boone. He was father-in-law of Gov. Return Jonathan Meigs, of Ohio. William Clendenin (brother of George) became Col. William Clendenin, a prominent citizen and long-time representative, first of Kanawha, and afterwards of Mason county, in the legislature. James Trimble was afterwards the founder of the distinguished family of that name in Kentucky and Ohio, father of Gov. Allen Trimble, U. S. Senator Trimble, etc. Anne Trotter, made a widow by the death of her husband in this battle remarried and became the eccentric and renowned "Mad Anne Bailey," the useful border scout, reliable messenger and valuable conveyor of ammunition, etc., between the forts at Point Pleasant, Charleston, Lewisburg and Jackson's river. She is still remembered by some of our older citizens, and is said to have been nearly 120 years old when she died. Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, who is said to have been the first white man to pass down through this valley to the Ohio and return (in 1764), and was guide and pilot of Gen. Lewis' army to the point, was the commander of the garrison left at the point after the battle, and was probably the author of the first written account of the battle, above given. James Welch was afterwards appointed by Gov. Patrick Henry, first surveyor of Greenbrier county. After the death of Capt. Arbuckle, Mr. Welch married his widow, and, upon his death, his brother, Mr. Alexander Welch

succeeded to the surveyorship. John and Peter Van Bibber, brothers, came with the army from the Greenbrier, and afterwards settled in this valley, and became the ancestors of a large and prominent family. One of them, Matthias, called "Tice," was the companion of Boone in his hunting and trapping excursions, and chain carrier on his surveys. He became the father-in-law of Jesse Boone, Col. Andrew Donnally, Col. John Reynolds and Mr. Goodrich Slaughter, all prominent citizens of the valley, and, still later, through the daughters of Jesse Boone, he became the grandfather-in-law of Gov. Boggs, of Missouri, and Mr. Warner, a member of congress from Missouri. Capt. James Harrod, who brought up his colonists from Kentucky and took part in the battle, as elsewhere related, next year founded Harrodsburg, Ky., became Col. James Harrod, and one of the most prominent citizens of the state. Philip Hammond and John Pryor, who had come down from camp Union to warn the few settlers on the Kanawha, remained in the garrison at the Point, and, in 1778, volunteered as runners to Greenbrier, to warn the citizens of the approach of the Indians, and then helped to fight them at Donnally's fort, having passed the Indians on the way. Mr. Robertson, one of the two soldiers who met the Indians above the point, on the morning of the battle, and who made his escape, his companion (Hickman) having been killed, became Brig. Gen. Robertson, of Tennessee. Col. Daniel Boone was not in the battle, but was the commander of three frontier garrisons (believed to have been the three Greenbrier forts,) to protect the citizens while the fighting men were absent with the army. He, next year, founded Boonesborough, Ky.

Simon Kenton was not in the fight, but was pilot, scout and messenger for Lord Dunmore, in connection with Simon Girty, and, on account of the friendship then formed, Girty afterward saved his life, when a prisoner, and after Girty had gone over to the Indians. Kenton was the first white man ever to camp in this valley (1771,) and he was the first to raise corn in northern Kentucky. He became Gen. Simon Kenton, and had a most eventful career as frontiersman, Indian fighter, etc. Samuel McCulloch was one of Lord Dunmore's scouts and messengers. He was one of the bearers of orders from Dunmore to Lewis, on the day before the battle. He lived to become one of the most renowned and successful Indian fighters on the western borders. Capt. Logan, afterward Gen. Benjamin Logan, was with Dunmore. He became, next year, the founder of St. Azaph, or Logan's fort, one of the first permanent centers of settlement in Kentucky, and a distinguished commander in the early Kentucky Indian troubles. George Rogers Clarke was with Dunmore; had, probably, joined him at Wheeling, where he planned and laid out the Wheeling fort, called Fort Henry.

He went to Kentucky the following year, where he, Boone, Harrod, Logan and Kenton became the founders, developers and defenders of a great commonwealth. A little later, Gen. George Rogers Clarke became the hero of Vincennes and Kaskaskia, among the most brilliant achievements in history, winning for himself the proud appellation of "The Hannibal of the west." Major (afterward colonel) Crawford, the unfortunate, was also with Dunmore. William Eastham was the father of Mr. A. G. Eastham, a prominent citizen of Mason county, sometime member of the West Virginia legislature, and now, as he believes, the last surviving immediate descendant of any of the participants in the Point Pleasant battle. The admittedly last survivor of those who personally participated in this memorable fight was Mr. Ellis Hughes, one of the remarkable family of border settlers and Indian fighters of that name. After Wayne's treaty, he and a neighbor, Radcliff, removed to Ohio, and were the first to settle in (now) Licking county. Hughes died in 1845, near Utica, aged in the nineties. There were, probably, others connected with this memorable Point Pleasant campaign, who afterward attained to positions of prominence or eminence in the stirring times that followed, as most of them, when disbanded, re-enlisted in the revolutionary armies, but of whose connection with this event no record has been preserved. While the names of those above mentioned will long be remembered and cherished with pride and pleasure by their descendants, there is one other whose "bad eminence" will ever be remembered with execration and horror. Simon Girty had joined Dunmore at Fort Pitt and was acting as scout and pilot. He had not then turned Judas, forsworn his race and betrayed his color, kith and kin; he was an active and useful scout, and probably, up to that time, loyal to the whites. There is a tradition that, while at the point, with the other scouts and messengers (McCulloch and Kenton), the day before the battle, Girty made some demand of Gen. Lewis in regard to pay for his services. Gen. Lewis, very properly, replied that it was not his business to settle such accounts, and referred him to the proper authority; at this Girty became quite insolent to Gen. Lewis, who rapped him severely, with his cane, over the head, and put him out of his tent. Girty left, bleeding profusely from his scalp wounds, threatening vengeance, and swearing that the camp should "run with blood" for the insult. This incident was, doubtless, considered trifling at the time, and, in view of the tragic events of the following day, was probably very nearly lost sight of and forgotten; but, it seems highly probable, if the account of this incident be true, that Girty's defection and renegadeism dated from this time, and was probably occasioned by this unfortunate circumstance, as he very soon, if not immediately

after, joined his fortunes with the Indians and the English, and became the bitter, relentless and dangerously efficient enemy of his former friends, probably causing them, directly and indirectly more bloodshed and suffering, for the next twenty years, than any half dozen of the most bloodthirsty Indian warriors. Girty had not far to go when he "went over to the enemy;" he did but little violence to his feeling. He, with his brothers, George and James, had been captured near Fort Pitt, in their early youth and retained as captives eight or nine years, trained up in all the habits and imbibing the feelings and prejudices of the Indians, learning their language thoroughly, while nearly forgetting their own, acquiring a strong taste and lasting fondness for the roving, unrestrained and exciting Indian life, and thus these wild Irish lads were converted into wilder savage Indians. It has frequently been said that it is impossible to make a white man of an Indian, but very easy to make an Indian of a white man; the history of the Girtys fully illustrates the latter. Of the Indians who participated in this memorable battle of the point, two — Cornstalk and Logan — stand out in bold relief above all the rest. In physical development, manly beauty and intellectual capacity, they were magnificent specimens of their race. For bravery they could not be excelled, and for self-composed dignity of bearing, ease of manner and fervid eloquence they will, from the accounts we have of them, compare favorably with the best orators of any age. Mr. Jefferson, who has immortalized Logan and his touchingly eloquent speech, thought him equal to any of the ancient Greek or Roman orators. It has been doubted by many whether Logan was the author of the speech, but it has also been doubted whether Mr. Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence; whether Shakespeare or Lord Bacon wrote Hamlet, William Tell has been pronounced a myth, and Barbara Fritche is said never to have had any visible, tangible existence. There are always believers — always doubters. Following is given the speech of Logan as it was reported by Col. John Gibson, who was with Lord Dunmore at camp Charlotte, who claimed to have heard it direct from Logan, and vouched for its authenticity. Let those believe who can, those doubt who must. Voltaire said: "History does not *always* lie." When Lord Dunmore was holding his peace conference with the Chiefs, at his camp, it was observed that Logan was not present. Feeling the importance of securing his assent to the terms of the treaty, Lord Dunmore sent Col. Gibson to his tent, where he found him brooding over his wrongs. In reply to the request to attend the council, he said: "I am a warrior, not a counselor, and I will not go," but instead he sent his famous speech which appears elsewhere.

Logan, weighed down by his sorrows, gave himself up to

intemperance, becoming a sot, and was finally murdered by a brother-in-law, on his return from a trip to Detroit.

The dominant character, not only in this Indian army, but probably throughout the Ohio tribes, at this period, was the great Shawanee chief, and king of the confederacy, Cornstalk. He was born in this valley, within the present limits of Greenbrier county, says Col. Peyton in his "History of Augusta county." Col. Benjamin Wilson, who was with Lord Dunmore at camp Charlotte, heard Cornstalk at this peace conference, and says of him:

"When he arose, he was in no wise confused or daunted, but spoke in a distinct and audible voice, without stammering or repetition, and with peculiar emphasis. His looks, while addressing Dunmore, were truly grand and majestic, yet graceful and attractive. I have heard the first orators in Virginia—Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee—but never have I one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstalk on this occasion."

Some one else present says:

"His clear, bugle voice could be distinctly heard all through the camp."

Col. Andrew Lewis (son of Gen. Andrew) says:

"I have often heard my father speak of his being the most dignified looking man, particularly in council, he ever saw."

That greatness and great misfortunes are apt to go together there are many examples among the illustrious names of the white race, and the histories of Cornstalk, Logan, Pontiac, Tecumseh, and others, illustrate the same rule in their race.

CHAPTER XII.

BY JOHN P. HALE.

MURDER OF CORNSTALK — "RED HAWK" — HIS EFFORT TO SHOOT WASHINGTON AT BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT — BLOODY RAIDS BY INDIANS TO AVENGE THEIR LEADER — ATTACK ON POINT PLEASANT — ITS REPULSE — RAID UP THE KANAWHA AND ATTACK ON DONNALLY'S — SPIRITED BATTLE — HANNAH DENNIS — HER CAREER AMONG THE INDIANS.



THREE years after the battle of the Point, the brave Cornstalk, who had here led his army almost to victory, who had himself withstood the flying bullets of a thousand murderous rifles, from sunrise to sunset, and escaped; who was now here as a messenger of peace, unarmed, and trusting his life to the protection of the garrison, was foully and shamefully murdered. The most reliable, indeed, the only reliable, account of it is that by Col. John Stewart, who happened to be present on the occasion, and was an eye-witness of the unfortunate occurrence. Col. Stewart's account is quoted entire, as it also gives valuable collateral history:

"In the year 1777, the Indians, being urged by British agents, became very troublesome to frontier settlements, manifesting much appearance of hostilities, when the Cornstalk warrior, with the Red Hawk, paid a visit to the garrison at Point Pleasant. He made no secret of the disposition of the Indians, declaring that, on his own part, he was opposed to joining in the war on the side of the British, but that all the nation, except himself and his own tribe, were determined to engage in it; and that, of course, he and his tribe would have to run with the stream (as he expressed it). On this, Capt. Arbuckle thought proper to detain him, the Red Hawk, and another fellow, as hostages, to prevent the nation from joining the British."

"In the course of that summer, our government had ordered an army to be raised, of volunteers, to serve under the command of Gen. Hand, who was to have collected a number of troops at Fort Pitt, and, with them, to descend the river to Point Pleasant, there to meet a reinforcement of volunteers expected to be raised in Augusta and Botetourt counties, and then proceed to the Shawanee towns and chastise them so as to compel them to

a neutrality. Hand did not succeed in the collection of troops at Fort Pitt, and but three or four companies were raised in Augusta and Botetourt, which were under the command of Col. George Skillern, who ordered me to use my endeavors to raise all the volunteers I could get, in Greenbrier, for the service.

"The people had begun to see the difficulties attendant on a state of war, and long campaigns carried on through wildernesses, and but a few were willing to engage in such service. But as the settlements which we covered, though less exposed to the depredations of the Indians, had shown their willingness to aid in the proposed plan to chastise the Indians, and had raised three companies, I was very desirous of doing all I could to promote the business and aid the service. I used the utmost endeavors and proposed to the militia officers to volunteer ourselves, which would be an encouragement to others, and by such means to raise all the men who could be got.

"The chief of the officers in Greenbrier agreed to the proposal, and we cast lots who should command the company. The lot fell on Andrew Hamilton for captain, and William Renick lieutenant. We collected in all, about forty, and joined Col. Skillern's party on its way to Point Pleasant.

"When we arrived, there was no account of Gen. Hand or his army, and little or no provision made to support our troops, other than what we had taken with us down the Kanawha. We found, too, that the garrison was unable to spare us any supplies, having nearly exhausted, when we got there, what had been provided for themselves. But we concluded to wait there as long as we could for the arrival of Gen. Hand, or some account from him.

"During the time of our stay, two young men, of the names of Hamilton and Gilmore, went over the Kanawha one day to hunt for deer; on their return to camp, some Indians had concealed themselves on the bank, among the weeds, to view our encampment, and as Gilmore came along past them, they fired on him and killed him on the bank.

"Capt. Arbuckle and myself were standing on the opposite bank when the gun was fired, and while we were wondering who it could be shooting, contrary to orders, or what they could be doing over the river, we saw Hamilton run down the bank, who called out that Gilmore was killed.

"Gilmore was one of the company of Capt. John Hall, of that part of the country now Rockbridge county. The captain was a relative of Gilmore's, whose family and friends were chiefly cut off by the Indians in the year 1763, when Greenbrier was cut off. Hall's men instantly jumped into a canoe and went to the relief of Hamilton, who was standing in momentary expectation of being put to death. They brought the corpse of

Gilmore down the bank, covered with blood and scalped, and put him into the canoe.

"As they were passing the river, I observed to Capt. Arbuckle that the people would be for killing the hostages as soon as the canoe would land. He supposed that they would not offer to commit so great a violence upon the innocent, who were in no wise accessory to the murder of Gilmore; but the canoe had scarcely touched the shore until the cry was raised, 'Let us kill the Indians in the fort,' and every man, with his gun in his hand, came up the bank, pale with rage. Capt. Hall was at their head, and leader. Capt. Arbuckle and I met them, and endeavored to dissuade them from so unjustifiable an action, but they cocked their guns, threatened us with instant death if we did not desist, rushed by us into the Fort, and put the Indians to death.

"On the preceding day, the Cornstalk's son, Elinipsico, had come from the nation to see his father, and to know if he was well or alive. When he came to the river, opposite the Fort, he hallooed. His father was, at that instant, in the act of delineating a map of the country and the waters between the Shawnee towns and the Mississippi, at our request, with chalk upon the floor. He immediately recognized the voice of his son, got up, went out, and answered him.

"The young fellow crossed over, and they embraced each other in the most tender and affectionate manner. The interpreter's wife, who had been a prisoner among the Indians, and had recently left them, on hearing the uproar the next day, and hearing the men threaten that they would kill the Indians, for whom she retained much affection, ran to their cabin and informed them that the people were just coming over to kill them, and that because the Indians who had killed Gilmore had come with Elinipsico the day before. He utterly denied it; declared that he knew nothing of them, and trembled exceedingly.

"His father encouraged him not to be afraid, for the Great Man above had sent him there to be killed and die with him. As the men advanced to the door, the Cornstalk rose up and met them. They fired upon him, and seven or eight bullets went through him.

"So fell the great Cornstalk warrior, whose name was bestowed upon him by the consent of the nation, as their great strength and support. His son was shot dead as he sat upon a stool.

"The Red Hawk made an attempt to go up the chimney, but was shot down. The other Indian was shamefully mangled, and I grieved to see him so long in the agonies of death.

"The Cornstalk, from personal appearance and many brave acts, was undoubtedly a hero. Had he been spared to live, I be-

lieve he would have been friendly to the American cause, for nothing could induce him to make the visit to the garrison at the critical time he did but to communicate to them the temper and the disposition of the Indians, and their design of taking part with the British.

"On the day he was killed we held a council, at which he was present. His countenance was dejected, and he made a speech, all of which seemed to indicate an honest and manly disposition. He acknowledged that he and his party would have to run with the stream, for that all the Indians on the lakes and northwardly were joining the British. He said that when he returned to the Shawnee towns, after the battle at the Point, he called a council of the nation, to consult what was to be done, and upbraided them for their folly in not suffering him to make peace on the evening before the battle. 'What,' said he, 'will you do now? The Big Knife is coming on us, and we shall all be killed. Now you must fight, or we are undone.' But no one made an answer. He said: 'Then let us kill all our women and children, and go and fight till we die.' But none would answer. At length he rose and struck his tomahawk in the post in the center of the town-house. 'I'll go,' said he, 'and make peace,' and then the warriors all grunted out, 'ough! ough! ough!' and runners were instantly dispatched to the governor's army to solicit a peace, and the interposition of the governor on their behalf.

"When he made his speech in council with us he seemed to be impressed with an awful premonition of his approaching fate, for he repeatedly said: 'When I was a young man and went to war, I thought that might be the last time, and I would return no more. Now I am here among you; you may kill me if you please. I can die but once, and it is all one to me, now or another time.' This declaration concluded every sentence of his speech. He was killed about one hour after our council."

Thus fell this rude child of nature, and denizen of the forest, who, with the lights before him, and true to the nature within him, had lived and acted well his part. His creed required an eye for an eye, blood for blood, life for life, and he had lived up to it bravely and fearlessly. He had fought for his country and his race, when duty, as he saw his duty, required it; but he was a lover of peace, and a counselor of peace, when peace was practicable. He was here now, this rude savage, in the interest of peace, when he and his son, the pride of his heart, and his companion in arms, Red Hawk, were cruelly murdered by those who had been reared in the light of the eighteenth century civilization, and under the teaching and preaching of peace gospels. Which were the savages?

Kercheval, in his "History of the Valley," says, on the authority of Maj. Lawrence Washington, that Dr. Daniel Craig, of

Winchester, met this Indian brave, Red Hawk, soon after Braddock's defeat, when Red Hawk told him that he had fired eleven well aimed shots at Washington during that memorable day, and had then desisted, believing Washington to be under the protection of the Great Spirit, as his gun never missed its mark before.

It is related by one of the biographers of Washington that, in 1770, when at the mouth of the Kanawha, looking after his lands, he met an Indian, who gave him the same story. This was probably Red Hawk himself, though no name is given. Cornstalk was first buried not far from the camp where he fell, near the intersection of the present Virginia and Kanawha streets, but in after years (1841) his remains were removed to the court house enclosure, where they yet remain; but, like the grave of his illustrious adversary of 1774, there is neither stone nor mound—nothing—to indicate the spot. Mr. V. A. Lewis, a citizen of the county, and well informed in her history, says that the spot is where a westward extension of the southern jail wall bisects a southern extension of the western old court house wall. Prior to the late civil war, Mr. Charles Dawson, son of the then jailor, at his own expense and pains, put a rail fence around the grave, and his sister, Miss Susan Dawson, in the kindness of her heart, planted rose bushes upon it, but during an occupation of the town by federal troops, about 1863, they burned the rails and fences, and stock destroyed the rose bushes, since when the grave has had no care. When Gen. Lewis' monument shall be erected, shall not Cornstalk also be remembered, in acknowledgement of the good that was in him, and in atonement of the wrong that was done him? The directing brain and executing right arm of the great Cornstalk were stilled forever, but his blood cried aloud to his tribe and his race for revenge, and revenge they took in large measure. Who can estimate the amount of blood-shed, the number of innocent lives sacrificed, and the consequent heart-aches, all along the Virginia border, in retaliation for the wicked murder of Logan's kindred, and Cornstalk and his party? It is said that Logan, in retaliation for his wrongs, himself brought in nineteen scalps and one prisoner, and yet he was kind to that prisoner, a Mr. Robinson, and afterward helped Girty to save Simon Kenton's life, when Girty was about to fail. Would the slayers of his family, and of Cornstalk, have been as humane under like circumstances? Many of the individual murderers, interior raids, and attacks in force on the forts, all along the frontier, from the Kanawha to the Monongahela, within the next year or two, were largely due to the determination, on the part of the Indians, to avenge the death of their honored chief. When the news of Cornstalk's death, and the attendant circumstances, reached the capitol, the governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, offered a reward for the apprehension and conviction of

the guilty parties. As a result, Capt. Hall and some of his men were arrested in their county (Rockbridge), and went through the forms of a pretended trial, but there was scarcely a family in that region that had not, at some time, suffered from Indian raids and murders, or had not lost friends or relatives in the battle of the Point, or other Indian wars, and their prejudices were so strong against Indians generally, that, although the facts were generally known, there was no one to prosecute, no one to testify; the trial was a farce, and the case was dismissed by default. Public sentiment went so far as to condemn the act, but was not willing to punish the guilty parties.

In the fall of 1777, not long after the death of Cornstalk, a small party of Indians made their appearance near the fort at Point Pleasant, and Lieut. Moore was dispatched from the garrison, with some men, to drive them off. Upon his advance, they commenced retreating, and the lieutenant, fearing they would escape, ordered a quick pursuit. He did not proceed far before he fell into an ambuscade. He and three of his men were killed at the first fire; the rest of the party saved themselves by a precipitate flight to the fort. In the following May (1778,) a few Indians again came in view of the fort, but as the garrison had been reduced by the removal of Capt. Arbuckle's company, and the experience of the last season had taught them prudence, Capt. McKee, the then commander, forebore to detach any of his men in pursuit of them. Disappointed in their expectations of enticing others to destruction, as they had Lieut. Moore in the winter, the Indians suddenly rose from their cover, and presenting an unbroken line, extending from the Ohio to the Kanawha river, and in front of the fort. A demand was then made for the surrender of the fort, and Capt. McKee asked till next morning to consider it. In the course of the night the men were busily employed bringing water from the river, expecting that the Indians would continue before the fort for some time. In the morning, Capt. McKee sent his answer by the Grenadier squaw (sister to Cornstalk, and who, notwithstanding the murder of her brother and nephew, was still attached to the whites, and was remaining at the fort in the capacity of interpreter,) that he could not comply with their demand. The Indians immediately began the attack, and for one week kept the garrison closely besieged. Finding, however, that they made no impression on the fort, they collected the cattle about it, and, instead of returning toward their own country with the plunder, proceeded up the Kanawha river toward the Greenbrier settlements. Some accounts state that Capt. McKee and three or four others met as many of the Indians, under a flag of truce, and had a conference. Capt. McKee disclaiming for himself and garrison all part in the murder of Cornstalk, explained that it was a sudden act.

of lawless violence, done under excitement, deprecated and deplored by all conservative people, etc. Some of the Indians seemed satisfied and returned home, but the larger number were bent on revenge, and moved off up the Kanawha. Satisfied that so large a force would be able to destroy these settlements, if unadvised of their approach, Capt. McKee started two men to Col. Andrew Donnally's (the then frontier house,) with intelligence. These men soon came in view of the Indians, but finding that they were advancing in detached groups, and dispersed in hunting parties through the woods, they despaired of being able to pass them, and returned to the fort. Capt. McKee then made an appeal to the chivalry of the garrison, and asked, "Who would risk his life to save the people of Greenbrier?" John Pryor and Philip Hammond at once stepped forward and replied: "We will." They were then habited after the Indian manner, and painted in Indian style by the Grenadier squaw, and departed on their hazardous, but noble and generous, undertaking.

Traveling night and day, with great rapidity, they passed the Indians at Meadow river, where they were killing and eating some of Mr. McClung's hogs for their breakfast, and arrived, about sunset that day, at Donnally fort, twenty miles further on. Col. Donnally at once had all the neighbors advised, and during the night they collected at his house. He also dispatched a messenger to Capt. John Stewart, at fort Union, to acquaint him with the facts, and make every preparation practicable to resist the attack. Pryor and Hammond explained how the precaution of Capt. McKee in providing a plentiful supply of water had saved the garrison at the Point from suffering, and advised similar precaution here. Accordingly, a hogshead was filled and rolled behind the door of the kitchen, which adjoined the house. Early next morning, John Pritchett (a servant of Col. Donnally's) went out for some firewood, and was fired at and killed. The Indians then ran into the yard, and endeavored to force open the kitchen door, but Hammond and Dick Pointer (a negro belonging to Col. Donnally), who were the only persons within, aided by the hogshead of water, prevented their accomplishing it. They next proceeded to cut the door into pieces with their tomahawks. Hammond, seeing that they would soon succeed in this way, with the assistance of Dick, rolled the hogshead to one side, and, letting the door suddenly fly open, killed the Indian at the threshold, and the others who were near gave way. Dick then fired among them with a musket heavily charged with swan shot, and no doubt with effect, as the yard was crowded with the enemy. A war club with swan shot in it was afterward picked up near the door. The men in the house, who were asleep at the commencement of the attack, being awakened at

the firing of Hammond and Dick, now opened a galling fire upon the Indians. Being chiefly up stairs, they were enabled to do greater execution, and fired with such effect, that about one o'clock, the enemy retired a short distance from the house. Before they retired, however, some of them succeeded in getting under the floor, when they were aided by the whites below, in raising some of the puncheons of which it was made. They (the whites) did this for a purpose, and profited by it. Several Indians were killed in this attempt to gain admittance, while but one white man received a wound, which but slightly injured his hand. When intelligence was conveyed to Capt. Stewart of the approach of so large a body of savages, Col. Samuel Lewis was with him, and they both exerted themselves to save the settlement from destruction, by collecting the inhabitants at fort Union (now Lewisberg.) Having succeeded in this, they sent two men to Donally's, to learn whether the Indians had advanced that far. As they approached, the firing became distinctly audible, and they returned with the tidings. Capt. Stewart and Col. Lewis proposed marching to the relief of Donally's fort with as many men as were willing to accompany them, and in a short time commenced their march with sixty-six men. Pursuing the most direct route, without regard to road, they approached the house from the rear, and thus escaped an ambuscade of Indians placed near the road to intercept and cut off any assistance which might be sent from the upper settlements. Adjoining the yard was a field of well grown rye, into which the relief from Fort Union entered about two o'clock, but as the Indians had withdrawn to a distance from the house, there was no firing heard. They soon discovered the savages, however, in the field, looking intently towards Donnally's, and it was resolved to pass them. Capt. Stewart and Charles Gatliff fired at them, and the whole party rushed into the yard, amid a heavy discharge of balls from the savage forces. The people in the fort, hearing the firing in the rear of the house, soon presented themselves at the port-holes to resist what they supposed was a fresh attack on them; but quickly discovering the real cause, they opened the gates, and all the party, led by Stewart and Lewis, entered safely. The Indians then resumed the attack, and maintained a constant fire at the house until near dark, when one of them approached, and, in broken English, called out: "Me want peace." He was told to come in and he should have it; but he declined the invitation to enter, and they all retreated, dragging off those of their slain who lay not too near the fort. Of the whites, only four were killed by the enemy — Pritchett before the attack commenced, James Burns and Alexander Ochiltree as they were coming to the house, early in the morning, and James

Graham, through a port-hole, while in the fort. It was impossible to ascertain the entire loss of the Indians. Seventeen lay dead in the yard, and they were known to have carried off others of their slain. There were twenty-one men at Donnally's before the arrival of the reinforcements under Stewart and Lewis, and the brunt of the battle was over before they came. The Indian force exceeded two hundred men. It was believed that the invasion of the Greenbrier country had been projected some time before it was actually made. During the preceding season an Indian, calling himself John Hollis, had been very much through the settlements, and was observed to take particular notice of the different forts, which he entered under the garb of friendship. He was with the Indians in the attack on Donnally's fort, and was recognized as one of those who were left dead in the yard. On the morning after the Indians departed, Capt. Hamilton went in pursuit of them with seventy men, but following two days, without perceiving that he gained on them, he abandoned the chase and returned. After this unsuccessful attack on Donnally's fort, the Greenbrier settlements were not again molested until sometime in 1780, when a party of twenty-two warriors made a raid into that country. The first act of atrocity committed was at the house of Lawrence Drennon, above the Little Levels. Here they shot Henry Baker and Richard Hill. Baker was killed, but Hill escaped into the house.

Mr. Drennon dispatched a messenger to the Little Levels for assistance. He soon returned with twenty men, who remained all night, but next morning, seeing nothing of the Indians, and supposing they had departed, they buried Baker, and, with Drennon and family, started to the Levels. Two brothers, named Bridges, to save distance, took a narrow pathway, which the Indians had waylaid, supposing the whites would go that way. They were both killed. The Indians next proceeded to the house of Hugh McIver, whom they killed, and made his wife prisoner. In going from here, they met John Pryor and his wife and child, on their way to the south side of the Kanawha. Pryor was shot through the breast, but, anxious for the fate of his wife and child, stood still, till one of the Indians came up and laid hold of him. Notwithstanding the severe wound he had received, Pryor proved too strong for his opponent, and disengaged himself from him. Pryor, then, seeing that no violence was offered his wife or child, walked off without any attempt being made to stop or otherwise molest him. The Indians, it was supposed, suffered him to depart, expecting that he would obtain assistance and endeavor to regain his wife and child, and that an opportunity would be given them of waylaying any party coming with this view. Pryor returned to the settlement, related the facts

above mentioned, and died that night. His wife and child were never again heard of. It was supposed that they were murdered by the Indians on the way, being unable to travel as rapidly as the Indians wished. Thus, at last, perished the brave John Pryor and his family. He was a noble fellow and deserved a better fate. We cannot learn what became of Philip Hammond, his partner in danger, and equal in daring and endurance. They deserve to be remembered by their country. This party of Indians next went to a house occupied by Thomas Drennon and a Mr. Smith, and captured Mrs. Drennon, Mrs. Smith and a child. Thence, going toward their homes, they wounded Capt. Samuel McClung, and killed an old man named Monday. Wither, to whom chiefly, we are indebted for this account, says this was the last murder committed by them in the Greenbrier settlements, but there was at least one other instance of murder. During the same season, Mr. William Griffith, his wife and daughter, were killed, and a son, a lad, taken prisoner. In passing through the Kanawha valley, some hunters got on their trail. Mr. Atkinson says that John Young, Ben Morris, Bob Aaron, William Arbuckle, and two others, followed them across to Elk, up Little Sandy and branches toward Poca, and discovered their camp. There were but two men and a boy. They fired and killed one man, the second man took to his heels, and the boy was unhurt. The man killed proved to be a white man painted as an Indian, the man who escaped was an Indian, and the boy was the captive Griffith lad. The stream on which this incident occurred is, to this day, called White Man's fork of Aaron's fork of Little Sandy.

In 1760, a party of Shawanees made a raid by way of the Kanawha and Greenbrier rivers, then unsettled, over to the then frontier settlement in that direction, on Jackson's river. They killed several persons, among them Robert Renix and Thomas Dennis, and took a number prisoners, among them Mrs. Hannah Dennis, and Mrs. Renix and her five children. They were pursued by a party of whites, under Capt. Matthews; they were overtaken, and in the engagement that followed nine Indians and three whites were killed, but the remainder of the Indians made good their escape, with their prisoners. In accordance with the stipulations of Col. Boquet's treaty, Mrs. Renix and her sons, William and Robert, were returned to their friends in 1765. William and Robert became prominent citizens of Greenbrier; another son, Thomas, came in, in 1783, but returned and settled on the Scioto. Joshua never returned; he married an Indian wife, became a Miami chief, and rich and influential among the tribe. The daughter Betsy died in captivity. Mrs. Hannah Dennis was separated from the other captives and allotted to live at the Chillicothe towns. She learned their language, she dressed and painted herself as they

did, and conformed to their manners and customs. Finding them very superstitious, she confessed witchcraft, and claimed to be a prophetess. She was attentive to the sick and wounded, and soon became a great favorite with them, and acquired great influence over them. She was all the while meditating an escape, and awaiting a favorable opportunity. At last, in June, 1763, she made a start; she was pursued, but after many hair-breadth escapes, she reached the mouth of Kanawha, where she crossed the Ohio on a drift log, and then made her way up Kanawha and Greenbrier rivers. She traveled chiefly by night to avoid discovery, and lived upon river mussels, green grapes, herbs, etc. She finally sat down by Greenbrier river utterly exhausted with fatigue and hunger, and gave up, thinking it impossible to proceed any farther. Here she was found by Thomas Athol and three others, who took her to Archibald Clendenin's house, where she was kindly cared for, and, when sufficiently recuperated to travel, was sent on horseback to Young's Fort, on Jackson's river, and to her relations. At this time there were but two settlements in the Greenbrier country; these were on Muddy creek and the Big Levels, and the two contained about twenty families, or, say, one hundred souls of all ages. Within a few days after Hannah Dennis had left Clendenin's, in the Muddy Creek settlement, about sixty Indian warriors made their appearance, led by the afterwards distinguished Cornstalk. They came professing friendship, and, as the French and English war had but recently been terminated by treaty of peace, the settlers did not doubt their sincerity, and treated them with hospitable kindness; when, suddenly, they fell upon the unsuspecting whites and killed every man, and killed or made every woman and child prisoners. They then hurried on to the Big Levels, fifteen miles distant, where the same treacherous and murderous scenes were re-enacted. Mr. Archibald Clendenin had just returned from a successful hunt, bringing in three fine elk, upon which they had a glorious feast, and after which, at a concerted signal, the massacre was executed upon their helpless victims. Thus, within a few hours, two prosperous and happy settlements were exterminated.

Only Conrad Yolkum, out of the 100 persons in both settlements, escaped death or capture by timely flight. The brave Mrs. Clendenin, as below related, made her escape from captivity, but with the sacrifice of her infant child. At Clendenin's, a negro woman, who was endeavoring to escape, was followed by her crying child. To facilitate her own escape, and to prevent the child falling into Indian hands, she stopped and murdered it herself. Mrs. Clendenin, who seems to have been a woman of fearless nerve and strong force of character, boldly denounced the Indians for their perfidy and treachery, alleging that cowards only

could act with such duplicity. To silence her, they slapped her face with the bloody scalp of her husband, and raised a tomahawk in a threatening attitude over her head; but she was not to be silenced or intimidated. She would not hold her peace, nor her tongue. In passing over Keeny's Knobs, on the retreat, the Indians being in the front and rear, and the prisoners in the center, Mrs. Clendenin handed her infant to another woman to hold, and she slipped aside in the brush, and succeeded in making her escape. The crying of the child soon led to the discovery of her absence, when one of the Indians, observing that he could "bring the cow to her calf," took it by its heels and beat its brains out against a tree. Mrs. Clendenin returned to her home, about ten miles distant, that night. She covered the remains of her husband with brush, and weeds, and fence rails, to protect it from the wild beasts, and after an effort to get some rest and sleep in an adjoining cornfield, tortured by visions of murderers and murders, she resumed her flight and finally reached, in safety, the settlements on Jackson's river. These melancholy events, occurring so immediately after the escape of Mrs. Hannah Dennis, whom they were so unwilling to lose, induced the supposition that the raid was made in pursuit of her. If such were the fact, dearly were others made to pay the penalty of her fortunate deliverance.



INDIANS ATTACKING FRONTIERSMEN.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXPEDITION OF COL. HENRY BOUQUET.*



COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET, at the head of a considerable force of soldiery made his way to Fort Pitt in the summer and fall of 1763 for the purpose of subduing and chastising the Indians in that neighborhood. The latter had become more than usually bold and troublesome to the frontier settlers. Col. Bouquet succeeded in quieting them for the time, and caused them to retire beyond the Ohio to the Muskingum. Here they remained without attempting any further depredations during the winter.

"But in the meantime, having supplied themselves with powder, etc., from the French traders (and now flattering themselves that the great distance of their settlements would render them inaccessible to our troops), the ensuing spring, 1764, presented these savage enemies afresh on our frontiers, ravaging and murdering with their usual barbarity.

"To chastise them for their perfidy, Gen. Gage resolved to attack them on two different sides and to force them from our frontiers by carrying the war into their own country. With this view he destined a corps of troops to proceed under Col. Bradstreet to act against the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas and other nations living upon or near the lakes, while another corps under the command of Col. Bouquet, should attack the Delawares, Shawnees, Mingoes, Mohickons and other nations between the Ohio and the lakes.

"These two corps were to act in concert, and as that of Col. Bradstreet could be ready much sooner than the other, he was to proceed to Detroit, Michilimackinac and other places. On his return he was to encamp and remain at Sandusky, to awe, by that position, the numerous tribes of western Indians, so as to prevent their sending any assistance to the Ohio Indians, while Col. Bouquet should execute his plan of attacking them in the heart of their settlements.

"Parts of the Forty-second and Sixtieth regiments were ordered on this expedition, and were to be joined by 200 friendly Indians, and the troops required of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The

* From a translation published in "THE OLDEN TIME," of a book printed in Amsterdam in 1769.

Indians never came and the Virginians pled their inability to raise men, having already in pay about 700 militia for the defense of their own frontier. In Pennsylvania, a bill for raising 1,000 men was passed May 30th, but, with the utmost diligence that could be used, the number could not be completed until the beginning of August.

"On the 5th of that month, the men being assembled at Carlisle, 118 miles to the westward of Philadelphia, Gov. Penn, who had accompanied Col. Bouquet to that place, acquainted the two Pennsylvania battalions with the necessity we were laid under of chastising the Indians for their repeated and unprovoked barbarities on the inhabitants of the province.

"Col. Bouquet then assumed command of the regular and provincial troops; and the four following days were spent in the necessary preparations for their march; the colonel giving the most express orders to the officers and men to observe strict discipline, and not to commit the least violation of the civil rights or peace of the inhabitants. He, at the same time, made the most prudent regulations for a safe and commodious carriage of the baggage, taking care to rid himself of all unnecessary incumbrances.

"The 13th of August, this small army got to Ft. Loudon; but notwithstanding all the precautions to prevent desertion, the Pennsylvania troops were now reduced to 700 men. The colonel was therefore under a necessity to apply to the government of that province to enable him to complete their number to the full complement, which was generously granted by a resolve of the governor and commissioners, August 16th; and the army now advancing beyond the settled parts of Pennsylvania, he made application to the colony of Virginia, where (under the countenance of Gov. Fauquier), the men wanted were soon raised, and joined the army at Pittsburg, about the latter end of September.

"Nothing material happened in their march from Fort Loudon to Fort Pitt (formerly Fort Duquesne), on the Ohio, 320 miles west from Philadelphia, at which place Col. Bouquet arrived the 17th of September.

"During this interval several large convoys were forwarded, under strong escorts, and though the enemy continued their ravages all that time on the frontiers, they durst not attack any of those convoys, which all arrived safe at Fort Pitt.

"While Col. Bouquet was at Fort Loudon, he received dispatches by express from Col. Bradstreet, dated from Presqu' Isle, August 14th, acquainting him that he (Col. Bradstreet), had concluded a peace with the Delawares and Schawnese; but Col. Bouquet, perceiving clearly that they were not sincere in their intentions, as they continued their murders and depredations, he determined to prosecute his plan without remission, till he should receive further instructions from Gen. Gage, who, upon

the same principles refused to ratify the treaty, and renewed his orders to both armies to attack the enemy.

"About the time of Col. Bouquet's arrival at Fort Pitt, ten Indians appeared on the north side of the Ohio, desiring a conference; which stratagem the savages had made use of before to obtain intelligence of our numbers and intentions. Three of the party consented, though with apparent reluctance, to come over to the fort, and as they could give no satisfactory reason for their visit, they were detained as spies, and their associates fled back to their towns.

"On the 20th of September, Col. Bouquet sent one of the above three Indians after them with a message, in substance as follows: 'I have received an account from Col. Bradstreet that your nations had begged for peace, which he had consented to grant, upon assurance that you had recalled all your warriors from our frontiers; and in consequence thereof I would not have proceeded against your towns if I had not heard that in open violation of your engagements you have since murdered several of our people.

"As soon as the rest of the army joins me, which I expect immediately, I was therefor determined to attack you as a people whose promises can no more be relied upon. But I will put it once more in your power to save yourselves and your families from total destruction by giving us satisfaction for the hostilities committed against us. And first you are to leave the path open for my expresses from hence to Detroit; and as I am now to send two men with dispatches to Col. Bradstreet who commands on the lakes, I desire to know whether you will send two of your people with them to bring them safe back with an answer; and if they receive any injury either in going or coming, or if the letters are taken from them, I will immediately put the Indians now in my power to death, and will show no mercy for the future to any of your nations that shall fall into my hands. I allow you ten days to have my letters delivered at Detroit, and ten days to bring me back an answer.'

"He added 'that he had lately had it in his power while they remained on the other side of the river, to have put their whole party to death, which punishment they had deserved by their former treachery and that if they did not improve the clemency now offered to them, they might expect to feel the full weight of a just vengeance and resentment.'

"We have been the more particular in our account of this first transaction with the Indians; because the colonel's firm and determined conduct in opening the campaign, had happy effects in the prosecution of it, and shows by what methods these faithless savages are to be best reduced to reason.

"On the 1st of October, two of the Six Nation tribes, an

Onondago and Oneida Indian, came to Fort Pitt, and under color of our ancient friendship with them, and their pretended regard to the English, endeavored to persuade the colonel from proceeding with the army. They told him that his force was not sufficient to withstand the power of the numerous nations through whose countries he was to pass, and assured him that if he would wait a little they would all come and make peace with him; at the same time recommending it particularly to him to send back the three Indians detained as spies. These little arts being clearly made use of to spin out the season till the approach of winter should render it impossible to proceed, they made but little impression. He told them he could not depend on the promises of the Delawares and Shawnese, and was determined to proceed to Tuscarawas, where, if they had anything to say, he would hear them.

"In the meantime, he was using the utmost diligence to prepare for his march and was obliged to enforce the severest discipline. One woman belonging to each corps, and two nurses for the general hospital, were all that were permitted to follow the army. The other women in the camp and those unnecessary in the garrison, were ordered immediately down the country into the settlements. Two soldiers were shot for desertion, an example which became absolutely necessary to suppress a crime which in such an expedition would have been attended with fatal consequences by weakening an army already too small."

"Col. Bouquet having at length with great difficulty, collected his troops, formed his magazines, and provided for the safety of the posts he was to leave behind him, was ready on the 2d of October to proceed from Fort Pitt with about 1,500 men, including drivers and other necessary followers of the army.

"The colonel, expressing the the greatest confidence in the bravery of the troops, told them 'he did not doubt but that this war would soon be ended, under God, to their own honor and the future safety of the country, provided the men were strictly obedient to orders and guarded against the surprises and sudden attacks of a treacherous enemy, who never dared to face British troops in an open field; that the distance of the enemy's towns and the clearing roads to them must necessarily require a considerable time; that the troops in those deserts had no other supplies to expect but the ammunition and provision they carried with them; and that therefore the utmost care and frugality would be necessary in the use of them.' He published the severest penalties against those who should be found guilty of stealing or embezzling any part of them. The ammunition and tools were placed in the rear of the first column, or front face of the square, followed by the officers' baggage and tents. The oxen and sheep came after the baggage in separate droves, properly

guarded. The provisions came next to the baggage, in four divisions or brigades of pack-horses, each conducted by a horse master.

"The troops were ordered to observe the most profound silence, and the men to march at two yards distance from one another. When the line or any part of it halted, the whole were to face outward, and if attacked on their march they were to halt immediately, ready to form the square when ordered. The light horse were then to march into the square with the cattle, provisions, ammunition and baggage. Proper dispositions were likewise made in case of an attack in the night, and for encampments, guards, communications between the sentries, signals and the like.

"Affairs thus being definitely arranged the whole army started on its march from Fort Pitt on the 3d of October. By a careful and steady progress along the north bank of the Ohio to Yellow creek, they arrived on the 13th at a branch of the Muskingum. They encamped here near the old Delaware town, Tuscarawas. The next day, the 16th, the army moved two miles further down the Muskingum.

"The day following six Indians came to inform the colonel that all their chiefs were assembled about eight miles from the camp and were ready to treat with him of peace, which they were earnestly desirous of obtaining. He returned for answer that he would meet them the next day in a bower at some distance from the camp. In the meantime he ordered a small stockaded fort to be built to deposit provisions for the use of the troops on the return and to lighten the convoy.

"As several large bodies of Indians were now within a few miles of the camp, whose former instances of treachery, although they now declare they came for peace, made it prudent to trust nothing to their intentions, the strictest orders were repeated to prevent a surprise.

"Wednesday, 17th. The colonel with most of the regular troops, Virginia volunteers and light horse, marched from the camp to the bower erected for the congress. And soon after the troops were stationed so as to appear to the best advantage, the Indians arrived and were conducted to the bower. Being seated, they began in a short time to smoke their pipe or calumet, agreeable to their custom. This ceremony being over, their speakers laid down their pipes and opened their pouches wherein were their strings and belts of wampum. The Indians present were:

"Senecas—Kiyashuta, chief with fifteen warriors.

"Delawares—Custaloga, chief of the Wolf tribe, Beaver, chief of the Turkey tribe, with twenty warriors.

"Shawnese—Keissinautchtha, a chief and six warriors.

"Kiyashuta, Turtle-Heart, Custaloga and Beaver were the speakers.

"The general substance of what they had to offer, consisted in excuses for their late treachery and misconduct, throwing the blame on the rashness of their young men, and the nations living to the westward of them, suing for peace in the most abject manner, and promising severally to deliver up all their prisoners. After they had concluded, the colonel promised to give them an answer the next day, and dismissed them, the army returning to the camp. The badness of the weather, however, prevented his meeting them again till the 20th, when he spoke to them in substance as follows:

"That their pretences to palliate their guilt by throwing the blame on the western nations, and the rashness of their young men, were weak and frivolous, as it was in our power to have protected them against all these nations, if they had solicited our assistance, and that it was their own duty to have chastised their young men, when they did wrong, and not to suffer themselves to be directed by them.'

"He recapitulated to them many instances of their former perfidy, their killing or capturing the traders who had been sent among them at their own request, and plundering their effects; their attacking Fort Pitt, which had been built with their express consent, their murdering four men that had been sent on a public message to them, thereby violating the customs held sacred among all nations, however barbarous; their attacking the king's troops last year in the woods, and after being defeated in that attempt, falling upon our frontiers, where they had continued to murder our people to this day, etc.

"He told them how treacherously they had violated even their late engagements with Col. Bradstreet, to whom they had promised to deliver up their prisoners by the 10th of September, last, and to recall all their warriors from the frontiers, which they had been so far from complying with, that the prisoners still remained in their custody, and some of their people were even now continuing the depredations; adding that these things which he had mentioned, were only a 'small part of their numberless murders and breaches of faith; and that their conduct had always been equally perfidious. You have, said he, promised at every former treaty, as you do now, that you would deliver up all your prisoners, and have received every time on that account considerable presents, but have never complied with that or any other engagements. I am now to tell you, therefore, that we will be no longer imposed upon by your promises. This army shall not leave your country until you have fully complied with every condition that is to precede my treaty with you.'

"I have brought with me the relations of the people you have

massacred or taken prisoners. They are impatient for revenge; and it is with great difficulty that I can protect you against their just resentment, which is only restrained by the assurances given them, that no peace shall ever be concluded till you have given us full satisfaction.'

"Your former allies, the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots and others have made their peace with us. The Six Nations have joined us against you. We now surround you, having possession of all the waters of the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Miamis and the lakes. All the French living in those parts are now subject to the king of Great Britain and dare no longer assist you. It is therefore in our power totally to extirpate you from being a people. But the English are a merciful and generous nation, averse to shedding blood, even of their most cruel enemies; and if it were possible that you convince us that you sincerely repent of your past perfidy, and that we could depend on your good behavior for the future, you might yet hope for mercy and peace. If I find that you faithfully execute the following preliminary conditions, I will not treat you with the severity you deserve.'

"I give you twelve days from this date to deliver into my at Wakatamake, all the prisoners in your possession, without any exception; Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and children; whether adopted in your tribes, married, or living amongst you under any denomination and pretence whatsoever, together with all negroes. And you are to furnish the said prisoners with clothing, provisions and horses to carry them to Fort Pitt.'

"When you have fully complied with these conditions, you shall know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for.'

"This speech made an impression on the minds of the savages, which it is hoped, will not soon be eradicated. The firm and determined spirit with which the colonel delivered himself, their consciousness of the aggravated injuries they have done us, and the view of the same commander and army that had so severely chastised them at Bushy Run the preceding year, now advanced into the very heart of their remote settlements, after penetrating through wilderness which they had deemed impassable by regular troops—all these things contributed to bend the haughty temper of the savages to the lowest degree of abasement so that even their speeches seem to exhibit but few specimens of that strong and ferocious eloquence which their inflexible spirit of independency has on many occasions inspired.

"The two Delaware chiefs on the close of their speech on the 17th, delivered eighteen white prisoners and eighty-three small sticks, expressing the number of other prisoners which they had in their possession, and promised to bring them in as soon as

possible. None of the Shawnese kings appeared at the council, and Keissinautchtha, their deputy, declined speaking until the colonel had answered the Delawares, and then with dejected sullenness he promised on behalf of his nation that they would submit to the terms prescribed to the other tribes.

"The colonel, however, determined to march farther into their country, knowing that the presence of his army would be the best security for the performance of their promises, and required some of each nation to attend him in his march.

"Kiyashuta addressed the several nations before their departure, 'desiring them to be strong in complying with their engagements, that they might wipe away the reproach of their former breach of faith, and convince their brothers, the English, that they could speak the truth; adding that he would conduct the army to the place appointed for receiving the prisoners.'

"Monday, October 22nd. The army attended by the Indian deputies, marched nine miles to camp No. 14, crossing Margaret's creek, about fifty feet wide. The day following, they proceeded sixteen miles one-quarter and seventy-seven perches farther to camp No. 15, and halted there one day.

"Thursday, 25th. They marched six miles one-half and sixteen perches to camp No. 16, situated within a mile of the forks of Muskingum; and this place was fixed upon instead of Wakautamake, as the most central and convenient place to receive the prisoners; for the principal Indian towns now lay around them, distant from seven to twenty miles, excepting only the lower Shawnese town situated on Scioto river, which was about eighty miles, so that from this place the army had it in their power to awe all the enemy's settlements and destroy their towns, if they should not punctually fulfill the engagements they had entered into. Four redoubts were built here opposite the four angles of the camp; the ground in the front was cleared, a store-house for the provisions erected, and likewise a house to receive, and treat of peace with the Indians, when they should return. Three houses with separate apartments were also raised for the reception of the captives of the respective provinces, and proper officers appointed to take charge of them, with a matron to attend the women and children; so that with the officers' mess-houses, ovens, etc., this camp had the appearance of a little town in which the greatest order and regularity were observed.

"On Saturday, 27th, a messenger arrived from King Custaloga, informing that he was on his way with his prisoners, and also a messenger from the lower Shawnese towns of the like import. The colonel, however, having no reason to suspect the latter nation of backwardness, sent one of their own people desiring them 'to be punctual as to the time fixed; to provide a sufficient quantity of provisions to subsist the prisoners; to bring

the letters wrote to him last winter by the French commandant at Fort Chartres, which some of their people had stopped ever since;' adding that, 'as their nation had expressed some uneasiness at our not shaking hands with them, they were to know that the English never took their enemies by the hand, before peace was finally concluded.'

"The day following, the Shawnese messenger returned, saying that when he had proceeded as far as Wakautamake, the chief of that town undertook to proceed with the message himself, and desired the other to return and acquaint the English that all his prisoners were ready, and he was going to the lower towns to hasten theirs.

"October 28th. Peter, the Caughnawaga chief, and twenty Indians of that nation, arrived from Sandusky with a letter from Col. Bradstreet in answer to one which Col. Bouquet had sent to him from Fort Pitt, by two of the Indians who first spoke to him in favor of the Shawnese, as hath already been mentioned. The substance of Col. Bradstreet's letter was 'that he had settled nothing with the Shawnese and Delawares, nor received any prisoners from them. That he had acquainted all the Indian nations, as far as the Illinois, the bay, etc., with the instructions he had received from Gen. Gage, respecting the peace he had lately made; that he had been on Sandusky lake and up the river, as far as navigable for Indian canoes, for near a month, but that he found it impossible to stay longer in those parts, absolute necessity obliging him to turn off the other way, etc.'

"Col. Bradstreet, without doubt, did all which circumstances would permit in his department; but his not being able to remain at Sandusky agreeably to the original plan till matters were finally settled with the Ohio Indians, would have been an unfavorable incident if Col. Bouquet had not now had the chiefs of sundry tribes with him, and was so far advanced into the Indian country that they thought it advisable to submit to the conditions imposed upon them.

"The Caughnawagas reported that the Indians on the lakes had delivered but few of their prisoners; that the Ottawas had killed a great part of theirs, and the other nations had either done the same, or else kept them.

"From this time to November 9th, was chiefly spent in sending and receiving messages to and from the Indian towns relative to the prisoners who were now coming into the camp one day after another in small parties, as the different nations arrived in whose possession they had been. The colonel kept so steadfastly to this article of having every prisoner delivered that when the Delaware kings, Beaver and Custaloga, had brought in all theirs except twelve, which they promised to bring in a few

days, he refused to shake hands or have the least talk with them while a single captive remained among them.

"By the 9th of November most of the prisoners were arrived that could be expected this season, amounting to 206, as follows: Virginians — males, 32, females and children, 58; Pennsylvanians — males, 49, females and children, 67; besides about 100 more in the possession of the Shawnese, which they promised to deliver the following spring. Mr. Smallman, formerly a major in the Pennsylvania troops, who had been taken last summer near Detroit by the Wyandots, and delivered to the Shawnese, was among the number of those whom they now brought in, and informed the colonel that the reason of their not bringing the remainder of their prisoners was that many of their principal men to whom they belonged, were gone to trade with the French and would not return for six weeks; but that every one of their nation who were at home had either brought or sent theirs. He further said that on the army's coming into the country, it had been reported among the Shawnese that our intention was to destroy them all, on which they had resolved to kill their prisoners and fight us; that a French trader who was with them, and had many barrels of powder and ball, made them a present of the whole as soon as they had come to this resolution, but that happily for the poor captives, just as the Shawnese were preparing to execute this tragedy, they received the colonel's message, informing them that his intentions were only to receive the prisoners and to make peace with them on the same terms he should give to the Delawares.

"On Friday, November 9th, the colonel, attended by most of the principal officers, went to the conference house. The Senecas and Delawares were first treated with. Kiyashuta and ten warriors represented the former; Custaloga and twenty warriors the latter.

"Kiyashuta spoke: 'With this string of wampum, we wipe the tears from your eyes — we deliver you these three prisoners, which are the last of your flesh and blood that remained among the Senecas and Custaloga's tribe of Delawares; we gather together and bury with this belt all the bones of the people that have been killed during this unhappy war which the evil spirit occasioned among us. We cover the bones that have been buried, that they may never more be remembered. We again cover their place with leaves that may be no more seen. As we have been long astray, and the path between you and us estopped, we extend this belt that it may be again cleared and we may travel in peace to see our brethren as our ancestors formerly did. While you hold it fast by one end, and we by the other, we shall always be able to discover anything that may disturb our friendship.'

"The colonel answered that 'he had heard them with pleasure; that he received these three last prisoners they had to deliver, and joined in burying the bones of those who had fallen in the war so that their place might be no more known. The peace you ask for you shall now have. The king, my master and your father has appointed me only to make war; but he has other servants who are employed in the work of peace. Sir William Johnson is empowered for that purpose.'

"The next conference was on November 10th, with the Turkey and Turtle tribes of Delawares. King Beaver, their chief, and thirty warriors representing the former, and Kelappama, brother to their chief, with twenty-five warriors the latter. The Senecas and Custaloga's tribe of Delawares were also present.

"The Shawnese still remained to be treated with, and though this nation saw themselves under the necessity of yielding to the same conditions with the other tribes, yet there had appeared a dilatoriness and sullen haughtiness in all their conduct, which rendered it very suspicious.

"The 12th of November was appointed for the conference with them, which was managed on their part by Keissinautchtha and Nimwah, their chiefs, with the Red Hawke, Lavissimo, Bensivasica, Eweecunwee, Keigleighque and forty warriors; the Caughnawaga, Seneca and Delaware chiefs, with about sixty warriors being also present.

"Everything being now settled with the Indians, the army decamped on Sunday, 18th of November, and marched for Fort Pitt, where it arrived on the 28th. The regular troops were immediately sent to garrison the different posts on the communication, and the provincial troops, with the captives, to their several provinces. Here ended this expedition, in which it is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the many difficulties attending it, the troops were never in want of any necessities; continuing perfectly healthy during the whole campaign, in which no life was lost, except one man mentioned killed at Muskingum."

CHAPTER XIV.*

HISTORY OF THE VOYAGE FROM MARIETTA DOWN THE RIVER IN 1805, WITH HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE DIFFERENT POINTS ALONG IT—EARLY TIMES IN THE WEST—SHIP-BUILDING IN MARIETTA—THE NONPARIEL AND HER CARGO—CREW AND PASSENGERS—GEN. MANSFIELD.



FOR several years previous to this voyage, ship-building had been carried on by the enterprising merchants and citizens of Marietta. This town was pleasantly situated on the right bank of the majestic Ohio, at the junction of the clear waters of the Muskingum, in the midst of a thickly wooded country, whose hills furnished in unlimited abundance the oak, the pine, and the locust; woods so essential in naval architecture.

Having as yet but few returns from the rich soils of their valleys they directed their attention to the means of wealth so bountifully furnished by Him, who has in various ways provided for the wants of his creatures. With the productions of the forest wrought into ships and brigs, they could readily exchange them with the rich importers of the Atlantic cities for merchandise, so much needed by new settlements in the west. Although the colonists of the Ohio company had been favored with only seven years of peace out of the twelve that had elapsed since they first landed at the mouth of the Muskingum, yet they had so far cleared the soil of the immense trees which shaded it for ages from the blessed rays of the sun, as to be able to raise sufficient food for their own support, with a prospect of soon having a surplus to send abroad. Kentucky and the regions of the Monongahela, lying along the western slopes of the Allegheny mountains, having been much longer settled, had already began, as early as the year 1795, to send considerable quantities of flour, whisky and tobacco, to the towns on the Mississippi, at that time in possession of the Spaniards. As this was the natural outlet of the western country through its mighty rivers, it was thought to be the only one by which they could ever send their produce to market, no man at that day dreaming of the canals, railroads

* The following chapter on A Voyage down the Ohio, was written by Dr. Samuel P. Hildreth, whose name as an historical writer is hardly second to any other in America. It was published in the *American Pioneer*, a magazine of early history, printed at Chillicothe, in 1842. When it was written it included a trip to New Orleans, but that part is omitted as not being relevant in this book.

and steamboats, that have since opened a hundred avenues through which the products of the rich valleys of the west may be conveyed to the Atlantic. As soon as ship-building commenced at Marietta in the year 1800, the farmers along the borders of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers turned their attention to the cultivation of hemp in addition to their other crops. In a few years sufficient was raised not only to furnish cordage to the ships of the West, but large quantities were worked up in the various ropewalks, and sent as freight in the vessels to the Atlantic cities. Iron, so important in all the mechanical arts of civilization, and without which it is said by philosophers we should still have remained in the savage state, was made in abundance in the forges on the Juniata, and furnished an article which to this day is justly celebrated in the west for its strength and tenacity.

By the year 1805, no less than two ships, seven brigs and three schooners had been built and rigged by the citizens of Marietta. Capt. John Devoll ranked amongst the earliest of Ohio shipwrights. He was a native of Rhode Island, and at Howland's Ferry, had wrought at the art of ship and boat building for several years during and after the war of independence. He was one of the advance party sent on in the fall of the year 1787 by the Ohio company, under Gen. Rufus Putnam. They spent the winter at "Simrel's ferry," on the Youghiogeny, and constructed a large boat which they named the "May-flower"; and from which in April following, they landed at the mouth of the Muskingum, and commenced laying the corner stone of the great state of Ohio. After the Indian war he settled on a farm five miles above Marietta, on the fertile bottoms of the Muskingum. Here he built a "floating mill" for making flour, and in 1801 a ship of 230 tons, called the Muskingum, and the brig Eliza Greene, of 150 tons. In 1804, he built a schooner on his own account, and in the spring of the year 1805, she was finished and loaded for a voyage on the Mississippi, aided by his sons Charles and Barker Devoll, young men in the heyday of life, and Richard Greene, who was a partner and owned a share in the vessel and cargo. She was small, being only of seventy tons burthen, of a light draft, intended to run on the lakes east of New Orleans. In shape and model she fully sustained her name, the Nonpareil. She was completely rigged except in sails, of which she had only one large square-sail, this being thought sufficient to navigate her to New Orleans, where a full suit was to be purchased. She had a large cabin to accommodate passengers, was beautifully painted, and sat on the water like a duck in its native element. Her load was made up of assorted articles, amongst which were 200 barrels of flour, fifty barrels of kiln-dried corn, 4,000 pounds of cheese, 6,000 pounds of bacon, 100 sets of rum-puncheon

shooks, and a few grindstones. The flour and meal were manufactured at Capt. Devoll's floating mill and the cheese made in Belpre, at the time one of the most flourishing agricultural districts in the state of Ohio. The crew consisted of Barker Devoll, commander; Charles Devoll and Richard Greene, supercargoes; "old Thom," a French Canadian, long accustomed to inland navigation on the great northern lakes, having been "a voyageur" in the fur trade, and now acting in the capacity of sailor and cook. He was a most inveterate smoker and dear lover of whiskey. An Irishman, called "old Bill," as strongly attached to usquebaugh as "old Thom" to his pipe, was shipped as a common hand and completed the crew. All things being ready, and having taken out the regular shipping paper, Marietta being at that time, and for several years after, a port of clearance, they unmoored from the landing and floated merrily along to the mouth of the Muskingum. Here, after a short delay in getting a few necessary stores for the table, they took on board as passengers, Mr. Mansfield, the then United States surveyor general, with his family, consisting of his wife, his son, nephew and servant girl. Gen. Mansfield had lived in Marietta since the year 1803, having been appointed to this important trust to succeed Gen. Rufus Putnam who had been removed, not for incompetency or unfaithfulness, but by one of those political tornadoes which sometimes sweep across our American republic. He was now about to make Cincinnati his headquarters, as more central and nearer to the new tracts of government lands ordered to be surveyed in Ohio and the adjacent western territory. Gen. Mansfield possessed a high order of talents, especially as a mathematician, with every qualification necessary to conduct the department under his control with honor to himself and advantage to his country. To a handsome personal appearance was added the most bland and pleasant address, rendering him a very desirable companion.

Commencement of the Voyage. The Nonpareil left Marietta on the 21st of April, and shoving off into the stream, with the aid of her broad sail and the current, careered gayly along on the smooth bosom of the Ohio. The season of the year abounded in life and beauty. The deep forests that covered the hill sides, and layed their branches in the waters of the "belle riviere," were now arousing themselves from the slumbers of winter; many of the trees were in full foliage, while others were just unfolding their buds to the mild rays of the sun and the soft breezes of spring. Along the southern slopes, the full blown dogwoods displayed their snowy petals, standing in clustered groups like the trees in some fair orchard. In rich contrast, the pink colored blossoms of the redbud, shed a joyous beauty over the scene, unequalled by the most skilful gardener's art. The woodlands

were at that day, like a well pruned park, open and free from the incumbrance of underbrush, kept down by the autumnal fires of the hunter. The water and the air were both teeming with life. The Ohio abounded in fish. The agile pike, the fat groveling cat-fish, and the silver scaled perch, full of spirit and action, felt the waters to be too heavy an element, and with sportive leaps, bounded into lighter air. Flocks of birds, dressed in the gayest plumage, were traversing the windings of the river on their annual migration from the warm regions of the south, to incubate and spend the summer in the cooler districts of the north; while the indigenous and more constant residents of the country, had already chosen their mates and commenced their architectural labors, preparatory to rearing their young. The bald eagle and the turkey-buzzard, were then amongst our commonest birds, while now they are rarely seen in the vicinity of Marietta. Twelve miles below the mouth of the Muskingum, at the junction of the Little Kanawha with the Ohio, they passed without landing, the little town of Newport, since changed to Parkersburg. Although it was at that time, the seat of justice in Wood county, it consisted of only a few log houses. It has since grown into a town of considerable importance, with many large brick buildings. The settlement commenced about the same time as that of Marietta. On the opposite shore lay the township of Belpre, composed of New England farmers, a large proportion of whom had been officers and soldiers during the stormy period of the Revolutionary war, and emigrated to this distant region to spend the remnants of their days on the borders of the placid Ohio. Ten years of peace had enabled them to clear and cultivate their farms, plant orchards and erect comfortable frame dwelling houses, so that the state of improvement was in advance of any other place between Pittsburg and Cincinnati. In the cultivation of fruit, they greatly excelled, and to this day, the apples of Washington county are justly celebrated in all the river towns. They are now one of the staple exports of Belpre.

One mile below the mouth of the Little Kanawha they passed the seat of Herman Blennerhasset, erected near the head of a large island, then known by the name of Backus' Island. The original owner of this island was Col. P. Devoll, of Virginia, who located it, with that just above the mouth of the Muskingum, in his own name as early as 1774. Having sold to Elijah Backus about the period of the settlement of the Ohio company, Mr. Backus, in the year 1798, disposed of the upper half, containing about 150 acres, to Mr. Blennerhasset, who shortly after commenced improving it. At this time it was in its zenith of beauty, and fully answered the glowing description of Wirt in the trial of Burr at Richmond in 1807. In addition to large and splendid buildings, garden, orchard, etc., he possessed a voluminous library

of choice and valuable books; a full set of chemical apparatus and philosophical instruments, to the accommodation of which one wing of the dwelling house was appropriated. He was a fine scholar, well versed in the languages and refined in taste and manners. So tenacious was his memory that he could repeat the whole of Homer's Iliad in the original Greek. With an ample fortune to supply every want, a beautiful and accomplished wife, and children just budding into life, he seemed surrounded with everything which can make existence desirable and happy. The adjacent settlements of Belpre and Marietta, although secluded in the wilderness, contained many men of cultivated minds and refined manners, with whom he held constant and familiar intercourse, so that he lacked none of the benefits of society which his remote and insular situation would seem to indicate. Many were the cheerful and merry gatherings of young people of these two towns beneath his hospitable roof, while the song and the dance echoed through the halls.

In one year after this date, or in 1806, Aaron Burr, entered this fair and blooming paradise, and after the manner of the tempter of old, by his smooth and fascinating manners beguiled the woman, who had great influence over the mind of her husband, and induced him to engage in the wild and extravagant project of erecting a new republic on the eastern provinces of Mexico. The military preparations of Burr in the western states and territories drew upon him the suspicions of the government, and in December, 1806, an order was received by Col. Phelps, the commandant of the militia of Wood county, Va., for his arrest with his associates. Blennerhasset received a hasty notice of what was doing; and in a few hours before the arrival of the colonel on the island took his departure in the night by water, leaving his wife to meet his accusers and to follow after with his children and household goods. And well did she defend her absent husband's rights; facing the militia with unblanched cheeks, and forbidding their touching anything not expressly mentioned in the warrant. By the aid of some of her kind neighbors in Belpre, who were friendly to her husband and greatly pitied her unpleasant condition, she was enabled to embark a few days after with her two little sons, the most valuable of her effects and black servants in a boat, but did not rejoin Mr. Blennerhasset until he reached Louisville. Well might they look back in after years with fond regret to the fair Eden from which they had been expelled by their own indiscretion, and the deceptive blandishments of Aaron Burr. In the year 1812 the dwelling house and offices were destroyed by an accidental fire. The garden with all its beautiful shrubbery was converted into a corn field; the ornamental gateway which graced the graveled avenue from the river to the house was

thrown down, and for many years not a vantage has been left of the splendid and happy home of Herman Blennerhasset but the name. Nearly forty years have elapsed since some of these events were transacted, and the thousands of passengers who annually travel up and down the Ohio in steamboats, still eagerly inquire after and gaze upon the "island of Blennerhasset" with wonder and delight.

As the Nonpareil glided smoothly along by the Island, near its lower end she passed the site of Farmer's Castle, a strong stockaded garrison, where the first settlers of Belpre had passed five long and weary years during the Indian war. It had been the scene of much suffering from pinching famine, wasting disease and the cruel savage. Charles and Barker Devoll as well as R. Greene, had been sheltered by its walls and witnessed all the stirring events that had befallen it during that trying period. Several of the block houses were yet standing, and recalled many of the feats of their boyhood to mind. After passing the settlements of Belpre, no improvements but scattering clearings with here and there a solitary cabin, were seen until they reached Belville, four miles below the mouth of the great Hockhocking river, on the Virginia shore. This settlement was commenced in the year 1786 by a mercantile house in Philadelphia, under the agency of Philip Wood, Esq. It was now a thriving settlement, with well cultivated farms stretched across the broad alluvions of nearly a mile in width. This spot was the site of a strong garrison during the Indian war, and many tragic events had transpired around it. It now exhibited the busy hum of industry and peace. G. Avery, an enterprising merchant from the east had purchased a large tract of land and made Belville his home for several years past. The locality being favorable for ship-building, he had commenced that business, and had already launched two large vessels. An extensive rope walk was also built and in full operation. The rich bottoms about Belville producing large crops of hemp, afforded the means of manufacturing all kinds of cordage, not only for rigging his ships, but also for transportation.

A few miles below this place the Ohio commences a series of bends and curves, varying its direction to every point of the compass. In passing Buffington's island and "Letart Falls," as they were called, although only a strong ripple made by the rocky bottom of the river, the schooner was kept in the channel by the aid of long ash oars, as the wind was so baffling, and blowing as often up stream as down, with the varying course of the river, that the sail was of little or no use. With care, however, they threaded these passes without accident, and sailing gaily along by the mouth of the Great Kanawha, brought their little vessel to for a short time at the town of Gallipolis. This place was set-

tled by a colony of 400 Frenchmen, in the year 1790. They had purchased a large tract of land from Joel Barlow, the agent of the Scioto land company in Paris. But this company having failed to complete its contract with the government of the United States, could not make legal conveyances to the purchasers; while they, poor fellows, having expended all their money in the purchase, voyage and journey to Ohio, now found themselves in a strange country, without a home and in poverty. The tract for which the Scioto company was bargaining, embraced the region lying between the western boundary of the Ohio company's lands and the Scioto river; resting on the Ohio and extending back to the northern line of said company. The French emigrants located their town on a high bank of the river, two miles below the mouth of the Kanawha, which spot proved to be within the territory of the Ohio company. They, however, immediately fell to work clearing away the huge trees which encumbered the soil, with all the life and activity of Frenchmen, cheering the solitary hours of night with the merry dance and the melody of the fiddle. From their total ignorance of woodcraft and the manner of felling trees, several of their number were crushed to death beneath them. Their manner was to place as many men around the huge poplar as could conveniently wield their axes, while one man watched the progress of the work, and gave notice of the first indication of its falling by a loud yell. Every one then took to his heels and fled with all speed from beneath the descending giant. In this attempt they sometimes ran in the direction of the falling tree and were killed under its branches. When fairly down, they went to work in dismembering it. In the meantime, another party with spades dug a deep pit alongside the trunk, into which it was rolled and covered with earth, while the top and branches were thrown into heaps and burnt. Dr. J. B. Reigner, then a young man, delicately brought up and educated in Paris, with whom I became acquainted in after life, was one of the company, and toiled a whole season in this manner, receiving one-third of an acre as his share of the cleared land. The Indian war commencing in 1791, he left the country and settled in the state of New York until peace was declared. Disheartened by sickness, war, famine and disappointment, many of the colony dispersed to the French settlements, on the Wabash and Mississippi. Congress commiserating their misfortunes, made them a donation of 24,000 acres of land on the Ohio river, a few miles above the mouth of the Scioto, known to this day by the name of "French grant." At this period the town had begun to increase, and now and then a frame house was seen taking the place of the diminutive log cabins in which they had heretofore dwelt.

At the mouth of the Great Kanawha, which is in sight of Gal-

lipolis, there was a small town called Point Pleasant. During the Indian war a garrison was kept here with a guard of soldiers at the charge of the state of Virginia. It is memorable as the spot where, in 1774, was fought one of the most bloody and well contested battles which has at any time been enacted on the waters of the Ohio. It took place on the 10th of December and continued the whole day. The forces engaged were thought to have been equal in number. The Virginia troops were commanded by Gen. Andrew Lewis, and amounted to 1,100 men. The leader of the Indians was the celebrated chief, Cornstalk. About sunset the savages withdrew their warriors, leaving a number of their dead in the hands of the whites. The loss of the Virginians was seventy-five killed and 140 wounded. The war was known in the west by the name of "Dunmore's war," after Lord Dunmore, then governor of Virginia. In the spring of the year 1777, Cornstalk and his son, Ellinpscio, were basely murdered at this garrison while on a friendly visit to the whites. He was the great chief of the Shawnese and possessed courage and talents equal to those of any Indian who ever lived.

From Gallipolis the Nonpariel sailed pleasantly along past the outlets of the Little and Big Guyandotte rivers, the latter of which is 35 miles below. The names of these streams are now all that remain as memorials of a tribe of Indians who once lived on the banks of the Ohio. The whole tribe was destroyed before the country was known to the whites, by the warriors of the merciless Iroquois, or "Six Nations"—the Romans of the savage tribes, who spread their conquests from the lakes to the Ohio river. Between the mouths of these two streams are seen uncommonly extensive ranges of mounds with the remains of embankments and relics of those ancient towns and forts so peculiar to the western country.

At the mouth of the Big Sandy, the dividing line between Virginia and Kentucky, the Ohio makes its extreme southern bend and approaches nearer to the climate of the cane (*arundinaria macrosperma*) than any other point between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. At this period it grew in considerable quantities near the falls, thirty miles from the mouth, and had been visited in 1804, by Thomas Alcock, of Marietta, for the purpose of collecting its stems to manufacture weaver's reeds. It was the highest point, near the Ohio, where this valuable plant was known to grow, and has long since been destroyed by the domestic cattle of the inhabitants. The head waters of the Sandy and Guyandotte interlock with those of the Clinch and the Holstein, amidst the spurs of the Cumberland mountains. In their passage to the Ohio, they traverse the most wild and picturesque region to be found in western Virginia; abounding in immense hills of sand rocks, cut into deep ravines by the river courses,

containing caverns of various sizes and extent. At this period it was the most famous hunting ground for bears in all the country. In the years 1805-6-7, 8,000 skins were collected by the hunters from the district traversed by these rivers and a few adjacent streams. It was the paradise of bears; affording their most favorite food in exhaustless abundance. The bear is not strictly an acrniverous animal, but like the hog, feeds chiefly on vegetable food. On the ridges were whole forests of chestnuts, and the hillsides were covered with oaks, on whose fruit they luxuriated and fattened until their glossy hides afforded the finest peltry imagined. The war in Europe created a great demand for their skins to decorate the soldiers of the hostile armies; and good ones yielded to the hunters four and five dollars each.

Since that day the attention of the sojourners of this wild region has been turned to the collection of the roots of ginseng. This beautiful plant grows with great luxuriance and in the most wonderful abundance in the rich virgin soil of the hill and mountain sides. For more than thirty years the forests have afforded a constant supply of many thousand pounds annually, to the traders stationed at remote points along the water courses. No part of America furnishes a more stately growth of forest trees, embracing all the species of the climate. The lofty *Liriodendron* attains the height of eighty and one hundred feet without a limb, having a shaft from four to six feet in diameter. The white and yellow oak are its rivals in size. The *magnolia acuminata* towers aloft to an altitude uncommon in any other region; while its more humble relatives, the *tripetala* and *mycophilla* flourish in great beauty by its side. It may be considered the store house for building future cities, when the prolific pines of the Allegheny river are exhausted. In addition to all these vegetable riches, the hills are full of fine bituminous coal, and argillaceous iron ores. From the mouth of the Sandy to the Scioto, a distance of nearly forty miles, the country abounds in iron ores of various qualities; no less than six workable beds being found at different elevations from the bottom of the river to the tops of the hills. They are portions of these immense deposits which are known to accompany the coal measures of the Ohio valley, from the Cumberland range to the foot of the Allegheny mountains. At the period when the Nonpareil floated along this division of the river, they were not known to exist at all; and the iron castings used by the inhabitants were brought from "head waters." Now thousands of tons are annually melted at the numerous furnaces on both sides of the river; and several towns and villages have sprung up by its means. At the mouth of the Scioto, they make a brief stop at the little village of Alexandria, containing a few log houses. Since then the town of Portsmouth has been built about a mile

above, and has become an active manufacturing town, with a population equal in numbers to that of the whole country in 1805. In the northeast portion of this county of Scioto, on the waters of Salt Creek, was seated the first, and for several years the only manufactory of salt in this part of Ohio. It was known by the name of the "Scioto Salt Works," and supplied a large portion of the inhabitants with salt. It required no less than 600 gallons of the water to make fifty pounds of salt; and yet many thousands bushels were made in a year, and sold at the works for two and three dollars per bushel. From thence it was carried on pack-horses into all the remote settlements. At this day, water is procured in such strength on the Muskingum, Hocking and Kanawha that from fifty to seventy gallons afford the same amount.

At the distance of fifty miles below Alexandria the schooner reached the town of Limestone, one of the oldest settlements and earliest landing places for emigrants in Kentucky. It is seated on a high bank of the river, and was at that day a town of considerable commercial importance, being the depot for merchandise intended for the interior of the state and nearly as much business as Cincinnati. Here they had a very fair offer for the schooner and load, by one of the leading merchants of the place who had just returned from New Orleans with a loaded barge. The captain gave his opinion in favor of the sale, but the two supercargoes thought they had better continue the voyage themselves, and if any profit could be realized on the cargo at New Orleans, they should retain it in their own hands. From Portsmouth to Limestone they passed but one town, the little village of Manchester, on the right bank, laid off and settled under the auspices of Gen. Massie in the year 1791. In the year 1796, the same enterprising pioneer laid the foundation for the town of Chillicothe.

The Nonpareil now unmoored and put out into the stream, proposing to stop at Cincinnati to land Gen. Mansfield and family. The distance between the two towns was sixty miles. New settlements and improvements were springing up along the banks of the river every few miles, and the busy hum of civilization was heard where silence had reigned for ages, except when broken by the scream of the panther, the howl of the wolf, or the yell of the savage. In this distance there are now no less than twelve towns, some of which are of considerable importance. They reached Cincinnati after a voyage of seventeen days, being protracted to this unusual length by adverse winds, a low stage of water, and the frequent stops of Gen. Mansfield on business relating to his department, especially that of determining the meridian and latitude of certain points on the Ohio river. It was now the 8th of May; the peach and the apple had shed their

blossoms, and the trees of the forest were clad in their summer dress. Cincinnati, in 1805, contained a population of 950 souls. The enlivening notes of the fife and drum at reveille were no longer heard, and the loud booming of the morning gun as it rolled its echoes along the hills and the winding shores of the river, had ceased to awaken the inhabitants from their slumbers. Cincinnati had been from its first foundation until within a short period the headquarters of the different armies engaged in the Indian wars, and the continual arrival and departure of the troops, the landing of boats and detachments of packhorses with provisions, had given to this little village all the life and activity of a large city. Peace was now restored, and the hum of commerce was beginning to be heard on the landings, while the bustle and hurry of hundreds of emigrants thronged the streets as they took their departure for the rich valleys of the Miamies, the intended home of many a weary pilgrim from the Atlantic states. The log houses were beginning to disappear, and brick and frame buildings were beginning to supply their places. Large warehouses had arisen near the water for the storing of groceries and merchandise, brought up in the barges and keel boats from the far distant city of New Orleans.

The upward voyage was performed in favorable seasons in 120 days. Barges at this time were large open boats of 80 or 100 tons burden, but were subsequently increased to 150 tons. A small quarter deck covered a little cabin for the accommodation of the captain, and afforded a stand for the pilot or steersman. In the bow a small forecastle protected the sleeping berths of the crew. The waist was occupied with the freight, secured from the weather by a tarpaulin or painted sailcloth stretched on stanchions. Twenty or more oarsmen were seated along the sides, according to the size of the barge; the largest class requiring forty or fifty men at the oars. In addition to the oars they all had masts and sails, rigged schooner fashion with topmasts, and in the long reaches with a favorable wind made considerable headway against the current of the Mississippi. Their usual progress was from ten to fifteen miles a day. In passing round headlands with a rapid current to stem, a long line was attached to the foremast, and carried up stream by some of the men in a skiff, and fastened to a tree; with this line they prevented the boat from swinging out into the stream and losing her headway, while a part of the crew swayed away on the cord, forcing her against the current up to where it was made fast. While this was hauling in, the men in the skiff carried on the process of "cordelling," as it was called by the boatmen, till they had passed by the rapid water. The common price for freight from New Orleans to Cincinnati was from \$6 to \$8 per hundred. The Nonpareil lay at Cincinnati two days, and was greatly admired by

the barge and keel boatmen for the beauty of her model, and trim appearance on the water. While lying here a considerable rise of the Ohio took place, which with the aid of the wind that now proved favorable, greatly accelerated their downward progress. On the Kentucky shore cabins and improvements were much more numerous than on the Ohio side, as this state had been settled a number of years before the latter.

Sixteen miles below Cincinnati, on the right bank of the Ohio, they passed North Bend. After the close of the war for independence, Mr. Symmes, then chief justice of the state of New Jersey, had early entered into the spirit of purchasing and settling the new territory northwest of the river Ohio, which had lately been placed in the hands of the American congress by its former claimants, the states of Virginia and Connecticut. It constituted a vast domain equal in extent to many of the kingdoms of Europe. As early as the year 1787, and at the same time with Dr. Cutler, Winthrop Sargent and others, agents of the Ohio Land company, J. C. Symmes made application to congress, in the name of himself and associates, for the purchase of a large tract of land lying between Big and Little Miami rivers. The price was sixty-six cents per acre, to be paid in United States military land warrants and certificates of debt due from the United States to individuals. The payments were divided into six annual installments. His associates were principally composed of the officers of the New Jersey line, who had served in the war of the revolution. Amongst them were Gen. Dayton and Dr. Boudinot. His first contract was for one million of acres, made in October, 1788, but owing to the difficulty of making the payments, and the embarrassments growing out of the Indian war, the first contract was not fulfilled, and a new one was made for 248,000 acres in May, 1794, and a patent issued to him and his associates in September following. Meanwhile in the spring of 1789, Judge Symmes had located himself at North Bend. At this point the Ohio river makes a northerly sweep, approaching to within a short distance of the Miami. Here he laid out and surveyed the plan of a city, extending across this peninsula similar to that of Philadelphia, between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers, and named it after himself. Many of the first settlers established themselves at this place. A settlement was also commenced where Cincinnati now stands at the same time. It was no doubt expected that "Symmes city" would be a great town in a few years, as its location was favorable for commerce, and in the midst of a rich region of lands. But the most trifling events sometimes bring our wisest calculations to naught. Like the unfortunate city of Troy of old, it is said that the smiling prospects of the new city were destroyed by the bright eyes and fair features of a woman. Females, ever since the days of

Adam, have had a greater influence over the affairs of man than he is willing to acknowledge. There being a prospect of danger from the Indians, the government ordered Col. Harmar to establish a fort between the two Miamies, for the protection of the new settlements. (Vide letters of Judge Burnet to the Ohio Historical society, part 2, vol. 1.) Judge Symmes persuaded the officer to land at North Bend, and while examining the ground for a suitable site for the fort, he became enamored with a beautiful female, the young wife of an immigrant. So long as she remained here, he was satisfied that this was a suitable location for the fort. In the mean time the husband of the woman, becoming jealous of the officious attentions of the officer, removed to Cincinnati. No sooner had she left the settlement than all the arguments of the judge in favor of the spot were without weight. He marched the detachment to Cincinnati, and immediately laid the foundation of Fort Washington. This sealed the fate of "Symmes city." The Indians soon became hostile, and the new immigrants preferred locating near the fort as a place of greater safety. But for this circumstance, apparently so trivial, North Bend might now have been the site of a city, and Cincinnati that of a small village or even covered with farms.

Judge Symmes was a man of sterling integrity and unbounded activity and enterprise. After the war the new settlement grew rapidly into cultivation, being amongst the most fertile lands of the state. The selection was a very judicious one; but many of the first occupants suffered considerably from inaccurate surveys and loose titles, ending in law suits. This beautiful spot, in years after the voyage of the *Nonpareil*, became the home of Gen. Harrison, and the resting place of his mortal remains. His wife was the daughter of Judge Symmes. He was amongst the early adventurers to the new purchase, and served in the army of Gen. Wayne. In 1791 he was at Fort Washington, and in 1798 was elected the first delegate to congress from the Northwest territory. From the blaze of glory acquired at Tippecanoe, he went on increasing in intellectual lustre and in moral worth, until he was placed by the almost unanimous vote of the people at the highest station in their power to give. His unexpected and universally regretted demise was a powerful illustration of the uncertain termination of all the plans of man. He is interred on the summit of a knoll, which is beautifully conspicuous to miles of the river and country around. Long may his memory be blessed by the thousands who annually pass up and down the Ohio in sight of his tomb, and his name preserved as a watchword by all true lovers of their country.

Fifty miles below Cincinnati they passed the mouth of the Bigbone creek, so named from its running through the Big-

bone lick. This celebrated spot is in Kentucky, two miles from the Ohio river, and covers a space of about ten acres. When first visited by the hunters and early settlers in the country the surface was strewed with the tusks, grinders, ribs and other bones of the huge mastodon intermingled with those of several other extinct animals. The collectors of specimens for cabinets of natural history and for museums have since removed all that were on or near the surface; and they now can only be obtained by digging to a considerable depth. It is estimated by Mr. Cooper, of New York, that the bones of 100 mastodons, and twenty of the elephant, besides those of several other animals, have been collected at this place. These were probably engulfed in the mud and slime as they contended with each other for the salt water, which is found on the margin of the creek and deeply impregnates the earth of the lick. It was first made known to hunters by the buffalo paths which led to it from all directions, and were worn deep and wide into the soil for miles in extent, as if traveled for ages.

Fifty-two miles above the falls of the Ohio, and ninety below Cincinnati, they passed the mouth of the Kentucky river, where there was a small town, and had for several years during the Indian wars been a stockaded garrison. From thence to the falls on either bank of the river there was no town of any note, and but thinly scattered settlements. In two days after leaving Cincinnati, the schooner reached the falls without accident. The first permanent settlement was made here in the year 1778; although land surveyors and hunters had visited the region on Beargrass creek as early as 1773. In the former year thirteen families came down the Ohio from headwaters, under the direction of Col. George Rogers Clark, so famous in early western adventure, and who at that time had under his command a detachment of soldiers. Near the Kentucky shore is a large island on which they first located and erected cabins; and from the circumstance of the first crop of corn being raised there, it took the name of "Corn Island," and retains it to this day.

In 1780, Col. Clark erected a fort on the mainland, and the settlers began to build their log dwellings close under its protection. From this beginning has sprung the present large and commercial city of Louisville. The first store of dry goods opened there was in the year, 1783, by Daniel Broadhead. The second in the state was at Lexington, in the spring of the year 1784, by Gen. James Wilkerson. At that period of the visit of the Nonpareil, quite a brisk little town had sprung up and had grown more rapidly since the upward navigation of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers had commenced; this spot being the carrying place for the merchandise intended for the country above, as the obstruction to navigation by the falls

made it necessary for the barges to land a part if not all of their freight before attempting the ascent of so rapid a current. At low stages of the river it was very dangerous descending the rapids with boats and few attempted it when below a certain mark well known to the pilots. From the rocks and islands well scattered through the pass, the river is divided into three channels or "chutes," viz.: the Kentucky, the middle and the Indian chute. The latter name was derived from its lying on the north or Indian side of the Ohio; and from the fact of the savages keeping possession of that shore for many years after the whites had occupied the south side. In making this descent, boats were often wrecked and sunk on the rocks which filled and lined the tortuous channels. Aided by the rise in the river, and the help of a skillful pilot, the little schooner passed down the middle chute with the rapidity of an arrow, and was safely moored in the harbor at the foot of the falls, now called Shippingsport. At that day not one of the towns which cluster about the falls was in existence, and what is now Louisville, sat solitary and alone on the rocky shore of the rapids, with the exception of a few log cabins and one or two store-houses at the foot of the falls. At the head, on the Indian shore, were a few cabins called "Clark's grant."

While lying here they took on board as a passenger, John Graham, Esq., who was on his way to New Orleans. This gentleman had recently returned from France, where he had acted as secretary to Mr. Monroe, our minister at Paris. He was now appointed secretary to C. C. Claiborne, governor of the territory of Louisiana, ceded in December, 1803, to the United States. Mr. Graham was in the prime of life, of a noble and commanding person, prepossessing countenance and agreeable manners. He was a great acquisition to the owners of the *Nonpareil*, and beguiled the wearysome length of the voyage by his instructive conversation and anecdotes of foreign travels. His father was one of the earliest land adventurers on the Ohio river, amidst the vast territory of Virginia, and a tract below Letart's Falls is still known by the name of "Graham's station."

Having taken on board a few stores for the larder, the crew unmoored the little schooner and put off in high spirits for the mouth of the Ohio. With a few exceptions the whole distance on both shores was a wilderness. Here and there appeared the hut of a new settler, and at remote points a few small towns. At the mouth of Salt river there had once been a frontier garrison of Kentucky, and now stood a few log houses; 180 miles below this was the Redbanks, or Hendersonville, quite a small village. Here they came to a for a short time to purchase eggs, chickens and milk, which were both cheap and plentiful. A few weeks earlier in the spring, the Ohio, from the mouth of Salt river to the Mississippi, was annually visited by immense flocks of water

flowl, consisting of the various species of ducks common to the western streams, and wild geese. Some of the ducks were of the most rich and beautiful plumage, while others were celebrated for their fine flavored meat and excellencies for the table. They abounded to an extent and multiplicity of numbers that no one at this day would believe, unless he had been an eye witness. They had now mostly taken their flight to the great northern lakes, though a few still lingered behind as if unwilling to leave so favorite a feeding ground. Sufficient, however, were left to afford Graham and Charles Devoll, who were both keen sportsmen, ample employment for their rifles, as they floated calmly along, and many a fine roast for their dinners. Eagles and vultures were seen in great numbers in a region that so much abounded with their favorite food. The former bird, it is said, never feeds on tainted or putrid meat, but seeks a fresh supply for every meal. From this circumstance, well known to western hunters, the flesh of the bald eagle was considered by many of them fully equal, if not superior to that of the wild turkey, and always eaten when fat. By one who has often partaken of their meat, I am told that he considered it a richer and nicer food than that of the turkey. Another peculiarity of this noble bird is, that he never makes two meals from the same carcass, but leaves it to be devoured by the less fastidious vulture and turkey buzzard.

Fifty-four miles below the Redbanks, and ten miles below the mouth of the Wabash, they passed Shawneetown, at that time consisting of only a few log houses, and formerly belonging to the Shawnee Indians. In a few years after this period it became a noted landing place for immigrants removing to Illinois and Missouri, but in 1805, the whole of that country, excepting a few French settlements, was in the possession of the savages.

From Shawneetown, to the "Grand Chain," just below old Ft. Wilkerson, the Ohio is bordered with the richest and most romantic scenery to be found between Pittsburg and its mouth. As the Nonpareil floated quietly along past "Battery Rock," "Cave-in-Rock" and "Tower Rock," noted promontories on the right bank of the river, some of which have their basis in the stream as they rise in perpendicular cliffs from the shore. Graham could not withhold his exclamations of delight at the various beauties which were unfolded at every turn of the river. The rich green of the forests, the graceful curves of the hillsides, reflected in the placid bosom of the Ohio, to be seen and enjoyed, should be viewed from the deck of some quiet boat as she floats calmly along with the current, and not from the hurried and rapid steam-boat. The entrance of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, with Hurricane and Diamond islands, are all interesting and prominent points of the scenery of this region. Had those streams pursued their courses a few miles further, before

joining the Ohio, they would have united their waters like the Allegheny and Monongahela. On the summit of "Tower Rock," there is said to be a mound, constructed of large blocks of stone, erected by those ancient people who once inhabited this country, as an observatory or watch tower. In the face of the "Cave-in-rock" there is a notable cavern, often visited by travelers and persons descending the river in flat-boats, steam-boats always being in too great a hurry to bestow any time on the picturesque or beautiful. This cavern or grotto has been chiseled by the tooth of time in a compact lime rock, and is 160 feet in length, eighty-eight feet in width and forty feet in height at the entrance, tapering away gradually to its extremity, like the expanded mouth of some huge animal. A few years before this voyage, the cave had been the den of a gang of river highwaymen, composed of renegade white men and Indians; the captain was by the name of Wilson. Some boats were enticed ashore by a sign board on which was written in large letters, "Boat stores and tavern." From this, it took the name of "Cave-in-rock." Others which could not be enticed to land, were boarded from canoes and taken by force. The crews were murdered and boats plundered. If loaded with provisions for the Orleans market, a crew of their own men was put on board, and the load sold at some town on the Mississippi, the hands returning by land with the money. They were finally routed by an armed boat sent on purpose from headquarters, as most of the plundered boats were from that quarter.

As the Nonpareil approached near the mouth of this dreaded cave a little after twilight, they were startled at seeing the bright blaze of a fire at its entrance. Knowing of its former fame as the den of a band of robbers, they could not entirely suppress the suspicions it awoke in their minds of its being again occupied for the same purpose. Nevertheless as they had previously determined not to pass this noted spot without making it a visit, they anchored the schooner a little distance from the shore and landed in the skiff. Being well armed with pistols, they marched boldly up to the cavern; when instead of being greeted with the rough language and scowling visages of a band of robbers, they found the cave occupied with smiling females and sportive children. A part of the women were busily occupied with their spinning wheels, while others prepared the evening meal. Their suspicions, however, were not fully removed by all these appearances of domestic peace; still thinking that the men there must be secreted in some hidden corner of the cave ready to fall on them unawares. On a little further conversation they found the present occupants of the dreaded cave consisted of four young immigrant families from Kentucky going to Illinois. The females were yet in the bloom of life. Their husbands had bought or

taken up lands a few miles back from the river, and after moving their families and household goods to this spot had returned to their former residences to bring out their cattle, in the meantime leaving their wives and children in the occupancy of the cave till their return. At that early day nearly all the wearing apparel of the inhabitants, and quite all their bedding was manufactured within their own dwelling; and these hardy occupiers of the frontiers, having been brought up like the virtuous woman, "whose price is above rubies," to turn their hands to the distaff, and having brought with their spinning wheels and looms an abundance of flax, spent the weary days of their husbands' absence in the useful employment of spinning. A large fire in the mouth of the cave gave cheerfulness to the gloomy spot and enabled them at night to proceed with their labors, while its bright rays were reflected from the looms, beds and household utensils which lay piled up along the side of the cave. By day the sun afforded them light, the mouth being spacious and elevated, while the roof sheltered them from the rain. They were in daily expectation of the arrival of their husbands, when they would move out on their farms in company. A little conversation soon dissipated all suspicions of harm from the minds of their visitors, for when was woman ever known to act the part of betrayer? and borrowing from them a torch they explored the hidden resources of the cave. At this time no vestiges of its former occupants remained but a few scattered barrel staves and the traces of their fires against the blackened sides of the rock. The walls, even at that early day, were thickly scored with the names of former visitors, to which they hastily added their own and thousands have no doubt been added since. Bidding a warm farewell to this singular and solitary community, they entered their boat, greatly wondering at the courage and confidence of these lonely females. Their surprise in a manner subsided when they reflected that they were the daughters of Kentucky, and from the land of Daniel Boone.

At the head of the Grand Chain on the right bank stood Ft. Wilkerson, being one of the cordon of defenses built by the United States during the Indian war to keep the savages in check. The town of Wilkerson stands on its site. It was erected under the superintendence of Col. Strong, an officer with Gen. St. Clair and an inmate of the garrison at Marietta, at the breaking out of the war in 1790. Old Fort Massac was built by the French and had long since gone to decay; it was fifteen miles above Fort Wilkerson. Some years after the building of this fort Col. Strong, whose employment confined him to the malarious shores of the Mississippi, sickened with a fever and visited the Cedar Bluffs and high banks of Fort Wilkerson for the recovery of his health. He, however, died here, shortly after which his son died

also in the prime of life, and both lie buried near its walls. Charles and Barker both landed and visited their graves, as they had formerly been intimately acquainted with them while living in the garrison at Marietta.

The "Grand Chain," quite an imposing name, is a large ledge of rocks which crossed the Ohio in a very oblique direction from the Kentucky to the Illinois shore, and would seem to have been the base of a range of hills called by Schoolcraft, the "Shawnee Mountains," cut across by the river in its youthful days. It however, occasions but little obstruction to navigation except in very low stages of water. From the head of the Grand Chain to the mouth of the Ohio is twenty miles. At that day the whole distance was a wilderness and the shore covered with a dense forest. From the mouth of the Ohio to the Wabash are found several species of trees not common to the country above the falls; amongst them is the pecan, which is so abundant in some districts on the lower portion of the river as to form groves or natural orchards of this species of tree. "Pekaun" is a Shawnee word and means "the nut." The catalpa is also found growing here, is indigenous to the climate, perfuming the air with its immense clusters of rich blossoms. The land at the mouth of the Ohio is level and low, subject to frequent inundations by floods in the Ohio and Mississippi. Were it not for this circumstance, and were the site otherwise favorable, under a wise policy we might expect in this neighborhood would rise one of the largest commercial cities in the Union. Several efforts have been made to build towns in that vicinity without success.

CHAPTER XV.

BY VIRGIL A. LEWIS

PROGRESS OF MANUFACTURES—ARTS OF THE PIONEERS—FIRST STAGE OF MANUFACTURING—BREAD IN THE WILDERNESS—COAL MINING—MANUFACTURE OF SALT—PRODUCTION OF BROMINE—FIRST WEAVER'S REEDS WEST OF THE ALLEGHENIES.



NE of the chief distinctions between man and the inferior animals is that the former makes improvements while the latter never do. To follow out in review these improvements is to obtain, perhaps, the best idea of the transition of man from his primitive condition to his present civilized and enlightened state, and what is true of the race in general is equally true of any portion of it when confined or transplanted to a new land distant from that in which the arts have to some extent been known. But two spots on the globe have evolved a civilization. Of these, the first is the plateau of Central Asia, and the second that of the high table lands of Peru. In these localities civilization was indigenous; over all the remainder of the earth where it has gone it is exotic. Such is that of the particular region of which we write. Let the reader take a map of the Ohio valley and view the country on both sides of the river from the town of New Matamoras to that of West Columbia and included in the counties of Washington and Meigs, in Ohio, and Wood and Jackson, in West Virginia, and he will see at a glance the boundaries of the region to which we refer. Over it for thousands of years savage men and wild beasts held undisputed sway. But the time was to come when white men were to possess the land, and there, in common with those whose destiny it was to carve out a civilization of the whole country to the west of the Alleghenies, they were to establish a civilization for themselves and one the type of which is as high as that of any older country.

This territory, prior to the coming of white men, was one vast wilderness, over which waved a primeval forest as grand as any on the globe, and situated almost in the center of the Region of Deciduous Trees, and on the great hardwood belt of the American continent. Here, too, Nature had been most lavish in depositing beneath the surface of the earth those minerals and

ores and over them that fertile soil, which in the fullness of time, should make a high civilization possible.

That we may properly understand something of the planting and development of the arts of civilized life in this region, it is essential that we notice briefly the coming of the men who were to conquer the wilderness and make it the abode of contentment and happiness. Within the region is the blending of two great commonwealths, and those who here first reared pioneer homes came from different sections of the continent. Here met the Cavaliers of Virginia and the Puritans of New England. How complete has been the assimilation. A community of interests and a common origin beyond the sea, are the bonds which have bound these at first diverging elements into a complete and united whole.

First let us notice the arrival of those who found homes on the north side of the river. The most important act of the last continental congress was the establishment of a settled government for the Northwest territory. This vast domain had been ceded to the general government by New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia, and the next important event was to be the founding of a new state within its limits. This was done by the Ohio Company of Associates, formed in 1786, and composed for the most part of soldiers and officers of the revolution, whose homes were principally in New England. Its purchase, the terms of which were completed October 17, 1787, embraced a tract of land containing about one and one-half million acres, and was located largely within the present limits of Washington and Meigs counties, Ohio. Gen. Rufus Putnam was chosen superintendent. Early in December of the last named year six boat-builders and a number of other mechanics were sent forward to Simrall's Ferry (now West Newton), on the Youghiogheny river, under the command of Major Hatfield White. The party reached its destination in January, and at once proceeded to build a boat for the use of the company.

Early in winter the pioneers left their New England homes and began the journey to other ones to be found in the western wilderness. They passed over the Alleghenies and reached the Youghiogheny about the middle of February. The "Mayflower," as the boat which was to transport the settlers to their destination was called, was forty-five feet long, twelve feet wide, and of fifty tons burthen. The voyagers embarked at Simrall's Ferry, and passed down the Youghiogheny into the Monongahela, down that river into the Ohio, and thence down that river to the mouth of the Muskingum, where they arrived April 7, 1788, and there made the first permanent settlement of white men within the present limits of Ohio.

Contemporaneous with the settlement of Marietta, Virginians

were finding homes on the southern bank of the Ohio. As early as the year 1773, Robert Thornton, of Pennsylvania, made his settlement right—a tomahawk entry—to 400 acres of land, including the present sight of Parkersburg, and it was confirmed to him by the Virginia commissioner of lands in 1783. In the years that followed other settlements were made at Neal's station, Belleville, Williamstown and at other points in what is now Wood and Jackson counties, West Virginia. Thus were brought together a people from beyond the Alleghenies and from New England. Of those on the Virginia side of the Ohio, some were the sons of families of distinction in the "Old Dominion," but life in the western wilds freed them from the restraints which the polished society of the east imposed upon them, and they practiced a hospitality bordering upon extravagance. Clad in hunter's costume of buckskin, or linsey woolsey, and with rifle in hand, butcher knife in the belt, they pursued the deer and the elk, visited their neighbors, attended the county court or the services of the church without a change of attire.

The chase, the shooting match, the horse race, the house raising, the log rolling, the flax pulling and the grubbing constituted the chief amusements. There were no luxuries, and the real necessities of life were few; hence there was much time for ease. Remotely situated from the extravagance of more cultivated society, there was no need of sideboards weighed down with champagne, nor of Brussels or Turkey carpets to decorate the puncheon floors of the cabin in the wilderness. But they were a patriotic people, ready at the first drum tap to shoulder arms in defense of their country.

But there were different traits of character exhibited by their neighbors on the north side of the Ohio. They were educated to believe that there was no reward without labor, and no wealth without economy. In their moral and religious observances they were rigidly austere. The Bible formed the chief rule of their conduct. If their liberality at any time exhibited itself, it was usually toward objects of charity, or to spread the teachings of the gospel they believed, and which they had been taught to revere. For bravery and devotion to country, they were the equals of their Virginia neighbors. Thus was mingled in the territory of which we write, the high toned chivalry of the crusader which cringed to no superior, and the zeal of the Puritan, acknowledging no superior but God. Such were the men who first planted the standard of civilization within the present limits of Washington and Meigs counties, Ohio; and Wood and Jackson counties in West Virginia. They increased, and by the year 1800, their cabins dotted the banks of the Ohio on either side, and extended far up the valleys of the Hockhocking, the Mus-

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kingum, the Shade, the Little Kanawha and along the banks of the smaller streams.

Now that the condition of those people may be contrasted with that of their descendants a century later, let us notice the mechanical arts as practiced and as seen among them at that day. He that would found a home in the trackless wilderness, no matter whence he came, brought with him an axe, an auger and sometimes a saw; these tools were often specimens of handicraft from beyond the sea, but frequently of that of the workshop of East Virginia, Pennsylvania or New England.

The Arts of the Pioneers.—The family moved through the forests or along the river until a favored location was found. Then a halt was made and house building began. Small trees were felled and logs cut the proper length and then collected at the spot selected, then the structure was raised. Clap-boards were split with a tool called a frow (and a very necessary one in the wilderness), and placed on the rib poles of the house, and weight poles laid on to hold the boards in place. Slabs, called puncheons, were then split and after being partially smoothed with the axe, were laid down for a floor. It however often happened that the earth formed the only floor. Then the "cracks" or spaces between the logs were filled with chinks and daubed over with mortar in which leaves took the place of hair, which the plasterer of to-day uses. A huge fire-place occupied one end of the structure, and over it was erected a funnel shaped chimney, constructed of sticks and clay, and for some reason called a "cat-and-clay" chimney. The house was usually of one story and a single room, but some were of two stories, in which the upper was reached by a ladder constructed only by those who were fortunate enough to possess an auger. The articles which were not in constant use, were put on the "loft," that is in the upper story. These were the aristocratic mansions on the border a century ago.

It was rarely that a piece of furniture was brought from the ancestral home, so the house after its completion, had to be furnished, and this was to be done by the same architect who reared the house. A table was made from a split slab, supported by four round legs set in auger holes; some three legged stools were made in the same manner; wooden pins inserted in the logs at the side of the house supported some clap-boards which served for shelves for the table furniture. A single fork, placed with its lower end in a hole in the floor and the upper end fastened to a joist, served for a bedstead, by placing a pole in the fork with one end through a crack in the logs of the walls. This front pole was crossed by a shorter one within the fork, with its outer end through another crack from the front pole between the logs at the end of the house, and boards were put on which formed

the bottom of the bed. Sometimes other poles were pinned to the fork a little distance between them for the purpose of supporting the front and foot of the bed while the walls were the support of its back and head. A few pegs around the walls for the display of the coats of the women and the shirts of the men and two small forks or buck horns fastened to a joist or a log over the door, for the rifle and shot pouch, completed the carpenter's work. The house was now ready for occupancy and the family moved in. All around was a dense forest — not a stick amiss save those which had been used in the erection of the house or in constructing furniture.

Thus were established the pioneer homes, in the domain of which we write, and we, here at that time, behold a people driven by necessity, to perform works of mechanical skill, far beyond what we, who enjoy all the advantages of civilization, could expect from a population placed in such destitute circumstances. Destitute, indeed, were they, but they were the founders of Ohio, and their descendants were among the men who established the commonwealth of West Virginia.

We of to-day naturally ask where were their mills for grinding grain, where their tanneries for making leather, where the smith shops for making and repairing their farming utensils? Who were their carpenters, tailors, cabinet-makers and weavers? The answer is, these artizans as a class did not exist among them, nor had they any tradesmen who were professedly such. Every family was, therefore, under the necessity of doing for itself as well as it could.

But the very conditions by which they were surrounded, were well calculated to call into action every native mechanical genius, and there existed in almost every neighborhood, some one whose natural ingenuity enabled him to do many things for himself and neighbors, far above what could have been reasonably expected. With the few tools they brought into the country with them, they certainly performed wonders. Their plows, harrows, with their wooden teeth, and sleds were often well made. Their cooperage, which comprehended everything for containing milk and water was well executed. The buckets of cedar wood, a red stave alternating with a white one, were really beautiful. Many of their puncheon floors were neat, the joints close and the upper surface smooth and even. Their looms were heavy and clumsy, but did good work. Those who could not exercise these arts, were under the necessity of giving labor or exchanging articles for them as their necessity required. In speaking of this class of men, Dr. Joseph Doddridge, the historian says, of his father:

"My father possessed a mechanical genius of the highest order, and necessity, which is the mother of invention, occasioned the full exercise of his talents. His farming utensils were the

best in the neighborhood. After making his loom he often used it as a weaver. All the shoes belonging to the family were made by himself. He always spun his own shoe thread saying that no woman could spin shoe thread as well as he could. His cooperware was made by himself. I have seen him make a small neat kind of wooden ware called set work, in which the staves were all attached to the bottom of the vessel by means of a groove cut in them by a strong clasp-knife and a small chisel, before a single hoop was put on. He was sufficiently the carpenter to build the best kind of log houses then in use, that is to say, first a cabin and then a hewed log house with a shingle roof. Not possessing sufficient health for service on the scouts and campaigns, his duty was that of repairing the rifles of his neighbors when they needed it. In this business he manifested a high degree of ingenuity. A small depression on the surface of a stump or log and a wooden mallet were his instruments for straightening the gun barrels when crooked. Without the aid of a bow string, he could discover the smallest bend in a barrel, and with a bit of steel he could make a saw for deepening the furrows when required."

In and around Marietta, on both sides of the river, were many ingenious men like Mr. Doddridge and they were the founders of the manufacturing interests of later times.

We have said that the first settlers brought with them into the wilderness but very few tools, and these were held to be very valuable. In illustration of this we extract the following from an autobiography of the Honorable Thomas Ewing, of Ohio:

"My father settled in what is now Ames township, Athens county, Ohio, early in April, 1798, removing from Green creek on the Muskingum river. At the time of my father's removal I was with my aunt, Mrs. Morgan, near West Liberty, Va., going to school. I was a few months in my ninth year. Early in the year 1798, I think in May, my uncle brought me home. We descended the Ohio river in a flat-boat to the mouth of the Little Hocking, and crossed a bottom and a pine hill along a dim foot path, some ten or fifteen miles, and took quarters for the night at Daily's camp.

"In the morning my uncle engaged a son of our host, a boy of eighteen, who had seen my father's cabin, to pilot us. I was now at home and fairly an inceptive citizen of the future Athens county. The young man, our pilot, was much struck with some of the rude implements of civilization which he saw my brother using, especially the auger, and expressed the opinion that with an axe and an auger a man could make almost everything he needed except a gun and bullet molds."

Here we not only see the many uses to which the few tools were put, but the estimation in which they were held.

The First Stage of Manufacturing.—"Bread is the staff of life," is not more true now than a hundred years ago, and to obtain it was perhaps the greatest difficulty to our pioneer ancestors, and the means devised by them for grinding grain were as primitive as were those of bible lands two thousand years ago.

Bread in the Wilderness.—The hominy block was to be seen at nearly every cabin. It was made of a large block of wood about three feet long with an excavation burned in one end, conical in shape, so that the action of the pestle on the bottom threw the corn up to the sides toward the top or upper rim whence it continually fell back to the bottom and in consequence of which movement the whole mass of grain was subjected to the action of the pestle. In the autumn, while the corn was soft, the block and pestle did good work in making meal for Johnnycake and mush, but it was a slow process when the grain became hard. Then, to secure more power, a "sweep," as it was called, was frequently used. This was a pole of some elastic wood, twenty or thirty feet long, the large end of which was placed under the house or pinned to a stump while the center rested on a fork. To the other end was attached a heavy piece of wood, end downward, with a pin driven through it near the center. Then the hominy block was placed beneath it, and with the hands on the pin, a vertical motion was secured because of the elasticity of the pole, and thus the hard grain was cracked and crushed beneath the stroke. This operation, was similar to that since witnessed in the same region in boring salt and oil wells by means of a "spring-pole."

Another instrument, more simple than the mortar and pestle, was used when the corn was too soft to be beaten. This was known as the grater, and was made from a half circular piece of tin perforated from the concave side, and its edges nailed to a flat piece of wood. The ears of corn were then rubbed on the rough side of the holes while the meal thus powdered fell through on the board to which it was attached. This was a slow way to win bread, but necessity knows no law.

A third invention was the hand mill, and it was a great improvement over the hand mill, hominy block and grater. It was made of two circular stones from fifteen to thirty inches in diameter and four to eight inches in thickness. One was placed on the other, the lower being called the *bed stone* and the upper the *runner*. Both were surrounded by a strong hoop with a spout for discharging the meal. A shaft of wood was let into the upper surface of the runner, near the outer edge, and its upper end passed through a hole in a board above so that two persons

could be employed in running the mill at the same time. By means of a small box or hopper, the grain was put into a hole in the center of the runner, whence it passed between the stones, and was, by the circular motion of the upper, ground to meal. But the pioneer could not lay claim to this invention, for these mills were in use by the Jews of Palestine two thousand years before, and to one of them our Savior referred, when He said, "Two women shall be grinding at the mill; one shall be taken and the other left."

The next step in the way of progress was the water-mill. Man has ever sought to utilize the powers of nature and here, as ever, he did so to aid him in securing bread in the wilderness. The tub-mill, as the water-mill were called, was constructed on the same principle as the hand-mill, but water was the motive power. This was in most instances secured by building dams, but they were sometimes constructed as floating mills. The mill itself was placed on two canoes or floats, lashed together, but leaving space enough between for working the wheel. The craft was then moored to the shore where the current was strong where it was held in position by grapevine lashings, and the proprietor was ready for his customers. These mills were said to have the capacity of "knocking three grains of corn into four," and the patience of the pioneer was supposed to have stood the crucial test if he had waited for his grist at one of these mills. When water was scarce, horse power was frequently used. Improvements continued to be made on these mills, until they did good work, but it was not until the year 1830, so far as the writer has been able to learn that steam was introduced into the milling business in this region. This experiment is believed to have been made first in the territory of which we write, at what was then called the "Narrows," on the Ohio, just above Pomeroy. In 1829, Samuel Grant, Oliver Grant, Randall Stivers, Stephen Root, Benjamin Knight and Nial Nye, formed an association known as the Union Milling Company. They purchased the frame work of an old horse mill, which had been erected at Racine (then called Graham Station), and removed it to the "Narrows." They added steam by purchasing a rude engine at Maysville, Ky., where they also secured the services of an engineer. The engine was shipped on a keel boat, and required the work of eight men two weeks to deliver it at its destination. Samuel Grant, having learned the milling business in Maine, was made superintendent, and in that relation continued until 1836, when the mill was purchased by V. B. Horton.

Improvements now went steadily on. Mills of large capacity were erected at Marietta, Parkersburg, and many other localities within the territory covered by this work, until from the hominy

block, the grater and the hand-mill of a century ago, we have dozens of patent process mills now, producing in the aggregate thousands of barrels of flour daily.

Man Cannot Live by Bread Alone.—After food comes raiment. That worn by the pioneers was all of domestic manufacture. They were hundreds of miles from the marts of trade, and they must needs depend upon themselves, or rather upon their own crude methods of manufacture, and this dependence was not always reliable. The crops of flax often failed, and the sheep, few in number, were often killed by the wolves. Linsey, which was made of flax and wool, the former the *chain*, the latter the *filling*, was the warmest and most substantial cloth they could make. Almost every house contained a loom and almost every woman was a weaver.

Every family tanned its own leather. The tan-vat was a large trough, sunk to the upper edge in the ground. A quantity of bark or sumac was easily obtained every spring while clearing and fencing land. This, after drying, was brought in, and during wet days, was shaved and pounded on a block of wood with an axe or mallet. Ashes was used in place of lime for taking off the hair. Bear's oil, hog's lard and tallow answered the place of fish oil. The leather thus made was coarse, but substantially good. The operation of currying was performed by a drawing knife, with its edge turned in the manner of a currying knife. The blacking for the leather was made of soot and hog's lard.

Almost every family contained its own tailors and shoemakers. Those who could not make shoes could make shoe-packs. These, like moccasins, were made of a single piece of leather, with the exception of a tongue piece on the top of the foot, which was about two inches broad and circular at the lower end, and to which the main piece of the leather was sewed with a gathering stitch. The seam behind was like that of a moccasin, and a sole was sometimes added. The women were the tailors. They could cut, fit and make hunting shirts, leggins and all the clothing known to the wardrobe of a frontier home.

Let us contrast the manufacturing of clothing at that day with our tailoring establishments of to-day. Then there were no Paris fashions known to the dwellers on the frontier. The hunting shirt, the cloth woven, the thread spun, the cutting, fitting and sewing done by the busy mothers and daughters of the household, was then usually worn. This was a kind of loose frock reaching half way down from the knees to the feet, with large sleeves, open before and so wide as to lap over a foot or more when belted. The cape was large and often handsomely fringed with a piece of cloth of a different color from the garment itself. The bosom of this dress served as a knapsack and

as such was used as a receptacle for carrying bread, jerk, tow, for wiping the barrel of the rifle, or any other necessary for the hunter or warrior. It was usually made of linsey, but some were made of coarse linen or buckskin, but the last were very cold and uncomfortable in wet weather.

The pants, vest and ordinary coat were made by the same hand from the same fabric. The feet were usually covered by moccasins, that could be made in a few hours. This was done by an instrument called a moccasin awl which was made of the back spring of an old clasp knife. This awl, with its buckhorn handle, was one of the appendages of every shot pouch strap, together with a roll of buckskin thongs or whangs for mending the moccasins. In cold weather the moccasins were stuffed with dry leaves or deers hair, to keep the feet comfortably warm; but in wet weather, the wearing of them was said to be little else than a "decent way of going barefoot."

The linsey petticoat and bed gown which were the usual dress of the women of those days, would present a strange figure on the streets of Marietta or Parkersburg to-day. They went barefoot in warm weather and in cold their feet were covered with moccasins, coarse shoes or shoe packs which would contrast strangely enough with the morocco, velvet and satin slippers worn by their grand, and great-grand daughters of to-day. Their entire clothing not in use was hung in full display on pegs around the walls of the cabin, so that while it answered in some degree the paper hanging of a later day, it also exhibited the wealth or poverty of the family in the articles of clothing.

Builders and Building Material.—We have seen that the builders of the pioneer days were the men who erected the cabin homes of the wilderness. The material used was round logs, clapboards and puncheons. The logs nature supplied, and the clapboards were made from large trees with straight grain. Blocks three or four feet long were sawed off, then split with maul and wedge into bolts which in turn were split into boards with a frow, the bolt being held in position by a fork called a "brake." The puncheons were made by splitting the trunk of a tree into flat slabs, which were then made smooth by hewing with a broad-axe. These formed the floors of the cabins in which were born and reared many men whose eloquence has resounded throughout the halls of national and state legislation. But improvement came on apace, and it was a long step in that direction when the whip-saw was introduced. This was the era of sawed boards on the frontier. The method of using the saw, now almost out of mind, was as follows:

A tree was selected, felled and squared by hewing, and then removed to what was called the pit. A ditch or trench from three to five feet in depth was dug, and at either end, cribs or

pens of small logs were erected, and on these and lengthwise over the pit the log to be sawed was placed. Then the saw, the blade of which was from four to ten inches wide, with handles standing at right angles to the surface of the blade was placed in position, the log having been "lined" to indicate the thickness of the boards to be cut. Then two men began the work, one below in the pit with a covering for the head to keep the sawdust out of the face, and the other moving backward on the top of the log. The lower was called the "pitman," and the one above the "lineman," a part of his business being to see that the saw followed the line. Two experienced men could thus cut three or four hundred feet of line per day.

Capt. James Merrill left Newburyport, Mass., in 1791, and spent two years at Marietta. He had been previously a sea captain in the East India service, and while at Marietta he took from there a vessel by way of New Orleans to New York. It was the first ocean going vessel built on the Ohio river. Returning to the west he settled in what is now Salem township, Meigs county, Ohio, in 1801, where he built the first weather boarded house in that county, and the weather boarding was cut from cherry logs with a whip saw which he borrowed from an acquaintance in Virginia.

The next step in the march of improvement was the sash-mill in which water was usually the motive power, though in later years, steam was employed. These are now things of the past, and instead we have the circular mills driven by steam and producing in the aggregate millions of feet annually.

Skilled builders were not among the first settlers, and as late as 1798, Blennerhasset could not find in Marietta those who could do the work on his mansion, then building on the island which still bears his name, and he had to bring them from New England and Pennsylvania, the architect himself being a Mr. Green of the latter state. It further appears that as late as 1811 good carpenters and shipbuilders were rare throughout the Ohio valley, for in that year Nicholas Roosevelt brought from the east mechanics to lay the keel and complete the work of building the "New Orleans," the first steamboat on the Ohio.

Coal and Coal Mining.—The existence of rich deposits of bituminous coal in and around the Pomeroy Bend, was known to white men almost as soon as they traversed the region. Major Crogan, who with his party descended the Ohio river in 1765, makes mention of an "Alum Hill" which they saw near where Pomeroy now stands. Washington, when on his journey down the Ohio in 1770, in describing this locality, says: "We here saw a *cole* hill on fire." Thus we see that while the first president of the United States could not, or did not spell c-o-a-l correctly, he was first to make mention of its existence in this region.

When, where and by whom was coal first mined on the Ohio river? This is a question often asked. History makes answer. J. H. B. Latrobe, the historian of Maryland, says that Nicholas Roosevelt, when descending the Ohio, in 1809, to ascertain whether the river was navigable for steamboats, so certain was he of the fact that he caused a quantity of coal to be mined and stored on the bank of the river, that his steamer, the "New Orleans," might have a supply of fuel when making her experimental voyage. This statement is also made by Admiral Preble, in his "History of Steam Navigation," p. 67, where he says of Roosevelt, that: "Finding coal on the banks of the Ohio, he purchased and opened mines of that mineral, and so confident was he of the success of his steam project, that he caused supplies of fuel to be heaped up on the shore in anticipation of the wants of the steamboat whose keel had yet to be laid."

But the first mining for commercial purposes within the county of Meigs or within the territory of which we write appears to have been commenced by Timothy Smith at Silver Run, on the Ohio, near the lower end of the county. He, with his brother Daniel, emigrated from Caledonia county, Vt., and descending the Ohio, landed at the mouth of Leading Creek about the year 1800. Timothy purchased 100 acres of land at the mouth of Silver Run, but Daniel not liking the location, bought his brother's interest in their boat and passed on to Cincinnati.

Timothy began mining in 1806, hauling the coal to the river and loading it on rafts constructed for the purpose, and these when loaded were steered to the markets down the river by John S. Giles and John Woods, both prominent early flat-boat pilots. Smith appears to have made a success of the business, for out of the proceeds, he paid for the machinery of a treadmill he had previously purchased at Cincinnati, but when he called for the notes which he had given, he was informed that they had been burned in a fire which consumed the business house of his creditor. Fortunate would it have been for Smith had the statement been true, for after a few years the notes were produced, litigation begun, and the cause was finally decided against Smith, and all his hard earned property was sold by the sheriff to satisfy the unjust claim.

About the same year that Smith opened the Silver Run mines, Hoover & Cashill begun operations at Coalport, now within the corporate limits of Pomeroy. They shipped on rafts similar to those used by Smith, but they do not seem to have been successful, for they soon abandoned operations.

David Bradshaw, in 1819, opened the first mine at Pomeroy, and a Mr. Bently took two thousand bushels of coal to Louisville where he sold it at 25 cents per bushel. In 1820, John Knight leased a large tract of coal land lying in and around

Pomeroy, from Gen. Putnam, at \$20 per annum, and at once began mining operations.

On the 15th of July, 1815, Samuel Grant entered eighty acres and Josiah Dill 160 acres of congress land, situated in the upper part of Pomeroy, and the former engaged for a time in mining and shipping coal. In 1804, Samuel W. Pomeroy of Boston, Mass., purchased from Elbridge Gerry, one of the original proprietors of the Ohio company, 1,173 acres of land, 262 acres of which was within the present limits of Pomeroy. In 1833, Mr. Pomeroy having purchased most of the coal lands extending for four miles along the river, organized a company, consisting of himself, his two sons, Samuel W., Jr. and Charles R., and sons-in-law V. B. Horton, and C. W. Dabney, under the firm name of Pomeroy, Sons & Company, and began mining coal on an extensive scale. This company and its successor, the Pomeroy Coal company, have ever since continued to do an extensive business. A boat yard was established, and the coal fleet, consisting of steamers and barges, was the largest in the United States south of Pittsburg. To-day the river hills in and around Pomeroy are honeycombed in every direction by horizontal shafts some of which extend into the leading creek hills. The coal interest must for many years to come be an important one for there are yet within the county extensive fields of this mineral, which the pick and drill of the miner have never touched.

Manufacture of Salt.—The manufacture of salt in Meigs county began at an early date, but the beginning was on a limited scale. The first to engage in the enterprise was Jabez Hubbell, who, about the year 1825, bored a well on Leading creek, in what is now Rutland township. This well was about 300 feet deep and was drilled by horse-power. The brine was boiled in ordinary iron kettles and the production was therefore small. About the year 1830, Braley's furnace, similar to the above, was erected about one mile north of Langsville. The third enterprise of the kind was that of Meltzer Nye, who, about the last mentioned date, built the Shady Grove furnace near the mouth of Leading creek.

A year or two later, Theophilus Jacob, said to have been from South America, built three furnaces near where the Middleport depot, on the K. & M. railroad now stands. The salt was settled by using blood instead of butter as is now used, and the product was called "blood salt," then said to be the only salt that would effectually preserve meat.

No salt was made on the river until about the year 1854, when the Pomeroy Salt company was organized. Among the stockholders were V. B. Horton, Marcus Bosworth, Charles Pomeroy, Willis Pomeroy, of Pomeroy; Joseph Longworth, of Cincinnati, and S. P. Hildreth, of Marietta.

They began and completed the erection of the Pomeroy furnace, a man by the name of Blundon boring the first wells. He had formerly drilled the wells for the furnaces on Leading creek. The Silver Run furnace was erected at the same time, principally through the efforts of James Guthrie. The business became an eldorado for capitalists, and furnace after furnace was erected until the Dabney, Middleport, Excelsior, Buckeye, Minersville, Sutton, Riverside, Sugar Run and Windsor, were all in operation, so that in 1868, their united capacity was 2,065 barrels per day, or 3,607,968 bushels per annum.

The business, though profitable at first, was so much overdone that by 1875, the stock would have been given away to any one who would have indemnified the donor against the liabilities of the corporation.

Production of Bromine.—Bromine is a liquid non-metallic element, possessing many analogies to bromide and iodine, and now extensively used as a remedial agent and in the arts. It was first made known to chemists by M. Balard of Montpelier, France, in the year 1826, and was soon afterward discovered in this country by that eminent scientist, Professor Silliman, who found it to exist in the "bitter" water, or bittern of the salt works of Salina, N. Y.

A few years later its presence was discovered in the salt wells near Freeport, Penn., by David Alter, who at once commenced its manufacture in that locality. About the same time a company of German and French chemists began its manufacture from the bittern of the salt wells at Schoenbeck, Germany.

In 1768, Dr. Herman Stiern, who for several years had occupied the chair of chemistry in the Humboldt Medical college at St. Louis, Mo., came to the Pomeroy bend, and upon making an analysis of the bittern of the furnaces here, found it to contain a high per cent of bromine. He at once engaged in its manufacture, and from the date of his arrival, until 1876, produced it at the rate of 210 pounds per day, or 30,000 pounds annually, being at that time the most extensive producer of bromine in the world. In the latter year he sold his interests to other parties, who increased the production here and who now continue the business. Prior to the beginning of its production here, bromine was imported from Europe in small quantities, and was sold at \$5.00 per pound. But the manufactories of the Ohio and Great Kanawha valleys now supply the markets of the world at one-tenth of the price previous to its production here.

First Weaver's Reeds Manufactured West of the Alleghenies.—The first manufactory of weaver's reeds west of the Allegheny mountains, if not in the United States, was established at New Lima, in Rutland township, Meigs county, Ohio, by Horace Holt, in 1822. He was a native of Connecticut, born in 1798, and came with his parents to Ohio, in 1807, and was but twenty-four years

of age when he began his enterprise. At the time he procured an old weaver's reed, took it to pieces, and thus learned its construction, although previously ignorant of the same. Obtaining a supply of canes from the south he went to work making improvements almost daily and selling all the reeds he could make.

In 1831, he invented machinery by which one person was able to set splints in from forty to fifty reeds in a day, instead of four or five as before. He made a model of his invention, took it himself to Washington city, and secured a patent. At the beginning he sold reeds at \$1.50 and \$2.00 each, but in 1850, owing to improvements in machinery, he sold them at twenty cents each with twice the profit, at the time he began. From 1863 to 1865, he produced from 500 to 800 reeds per week, and was unable to supply the demand, although the price, owing to the war had risen to \$1 each.



CHAPTER XVI.

BY VIRGIL A. LEWIS.

INTRODUCTION OF STEAM NAVIGATION ON THE OHIO RIVER.



MAN is a migratory creature, and almost with his introduction upon the earth he began seeking for some other means of locomotion than those of his own physical powers. The descent of rivers by means of their currents doubtless presented to him the first of these means. Seated upon the fallen and severed trunk of a tree, he was borne onward by the sometimes gentle, and at other times, rapid current. Then to increase his speed, paddles or poles were brought into requisition. Next he dug out the log and later fashioned it in the form of a canoe. Another force was seen in nature. He saw the forest bending before the wind, and the uprooted trees driving before it on the surface of the waters, and thus sails were suggested, to secure which, his inventive genius was tested in the production of a textile fabric from which to make the wings that were to bear him on his onward course. From the rude canoe he advanced to larger boats in which he not only threaded the winding course of rivers, but ventured out upon the ocean until the winds wafted his bark to every shore of earth. Thousands of years came and went. The mental activities developed and man began to dream of some propelling power by which he might overcome the resistance of currents and at the same time drive his boat with greater velocity than when propelled by wind alone. History records both the names and the experiments of many who sought to discover that mysterious force, and the student of to-day searches the records of the past to ascertain, if possible, who of the many thought best for humanity. The inventor of the steamboat, whoever that be, is he whose genius has won the greatest triumph recorded in the annals of the scientific world. The honor has been claimed by several individuals and certainly does not belong to all. For one alone can it truly be claimed, and we believe beyond the shadow of a doubt that the one to whom the honor is due is JAMES RUMSEY.

The later splendid achievements of Fulton, Bell and others, in perfecting and applying steam to navigation have overshadowed the very name of him with whom the idea of the steam-

boat originated, and it has remained for those of after times to award to him that meed of praise which truly belongs to his memory.

The facts of history bear us out in saying that James Rumsey was the real inventor of the steamboat. He was born in Maryland about 1743, and early in life found a home in the wild solitudes of the Virginia frontier, and reared his cabin on the banks of the Potomac, near the present site of Shepherdstown, Jefferson county, W. Va. Here, surrounded on all sides by the grand, the beautiful and the sublime, his active mind evolved and developed that of which men had dreamed for two thousand years. A blacksmith by occupation, he not only constructed the boat but built his own engine. The latter work he performed at the Catoctin Iron Furnace in Frederick county, Va., then owned by Johnson brothers. The tools used were those of an ordinary blacksmith shop, and his boiler was constructed from a number of gun barrels, each serving as a flue. When all was in readiness, the boat was launched and the trial made on the broad reach of the Potomac just above Shepherdstown. It was witnessed by a number of distinguished personages, one of whom was Gen. Washington, who, before returning to Mount Vernon, gave to the inventor the following:

"I have seen the model of Mr. Rumsey's boat constructed to work against the stream; examined the power on which it acts; been an eye-witness to an actual experiment in running waters of some rapidity, and give it as my opinion (although I had little faith before) that he has discovered the art of working boats by mechanism and small manual assistance against rapid currents; that the discovery is of vast importance in our inland navigation.

"Given under my hand and seal, in the town of Bath, county of Berkeley, in the state of Virginia, this 7th day of September, 1784.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Other experiments were made and the intelligence of the invention went abroad. Virginia, in 1787, granted to the inventor the right to navigate the waters of the state for a series of years. In 1788, Rumsey issued from the press of Joseph James, Chestnut street, Philadelphia, a pamphlet entitled: "A Short Treatise on the Application of Steam, whereby is clearly shown from Actual Experiment that Steam may be applied to propel Boats or Vessels of any Burthen against rapid currents; by James Rumsey, of Berkeley county, Virginia."

In the year last named the *Newport Herald* said: "Mr. Rumsey's steamboat, with more than half her lading (upward of three tons) and a number of people on board, made progress of four miles an hour against the current of the Potomac river by the force of steam without any external application whatever, im-

pelled by a machine that will not cost more than twenty guineas for a ten-ton boat, and that will not consume more than four bushels of coal in twelve hours."

"The Rumsey Society" was formed in Philadelphia in 1788, but the restless mind of the inventor grew impatient at the continued delay, and in the autumn of that year he carried a model of his boat to England where he procured a patent for it. There, amid the wealth and intelligence of that older country, he hoped to find that encouragement and aid which he had sought in vain in his own land. There he would perfect and reduce to practical operation his plans of steam navigation, and thus win fame and fortune.

He patented his invention in France and Holland, and succeeded in inducing a wealthy American merchant of London to join him, and they began the building of a steamboat on the Thames. But alas for human hopes! Disappointment followed disappointment, and with discouragements surrounding him on all sides, this remarkable man fell dead while explaining the principles of his invention to the Philosophical Society of London. Thus he died without seeing the consummation of the cherished object of his life, and without knowing that he had revolutionized the commerce of the world. His partner, with the aid of others, completed the steamer and launched her upon the Thames in February, 1793, and navigated her upon that river at the rate of four miles per hour.

Thus from a careful study of the facts it is seen that James Rumsey was the inventor of the first steamboat in the world, and it appears equally certain that those who later put the invention to practical use, borrowed their idea of it from him. If this can be shown to be true of John Fitch and Robert Fulton, then the facts need never more be questioned.

John Fitch, for whom the invention has been claimed, was born in Connecticut, in 1743, and after successful employment in several occupations in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, became a land surveyor on the western confines of the latter state and Virginia, and made a map of the western country, which was engraved in Philadelphia. In 1785, he set out for Kentucky, but halted at Richmond, and entered into bond in the penalty of £350, on condition that if he should sell 1,000 of his maps in the western part of Virginia, at 6s, 8d., he would in nine months thereafter, exhibit a *steamboat* in the waters of Virginia. While engaged in an effort to sell his maps he visited Rumsey, in Berkeley county, by whom he was accused of "coming pottering around his work-bench," and carrying off his plans to be afterward developed in Philadelphia. Then, where, when and from whom did Fitch obtain his knowledge of the steamboat which he afterward tested and which was a partial success? The answer is

plain. It was while engaged in an effort to sell his map of the western country to the Virginia frontiersmen, and while "pottering around" the Virginia workbench of James Rumsey.

But what of Robert Fulton, whose memory the world has crowned with bays of honor, and whose name is in the mouth of every schoolboy, as that of the inventor of the steamboat? Let us see what were his relations to the Virginia inventor. Fulton was born in 1765, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and grew to manhood within a hundred miles of Rumsey's home on the Potomac. Whether, like Fitch, he ever visited the latter at Sheperdstown, we do not know, but certain it is that he went to London in 1786, where he prosecuted the study of engraving, and Rear-Admiral Henry Prebble, of the United States navy, in his interesting work on the "Origin and Development of Steam Navigation," says: "A gentleman not many years ago had in his possession letters written by Rumsey, while in London, which mentioned his receiving frequent visits from a young American, studying engineering, who showed a sympathetic and intelligent interest" in Rumsey's labors, and the admiral says: "This young man was Robert Fulton, who fourteen years after Rumsey's death, gave to the world the first successful steamboat.

Then, when, where and from whom, did Fulton obtain his idea of the steamboat? Here, again, as in the case of Fitch, though not while "pottering around" a Virginia work-bench, but in his frequent visits to Rumsey while in London.

Rumsey, Fitch and Fulton — illustrious trio — how much does the world owe to them? All Americans — one a son of Maryland, another of Connecticut, and a third of Pennsylvania. Rumsey died in a foreign land, and Fitch, after building a steamboat on the Delaware, passed from among the living in 1798, and found a grave in the village cemetery of Bardstown, Nelson county, Ky. Only Fulton survived, but Rumsey's invention lived with him, and to Robert Fulton, the young man who paid frequent and interested visits to the Virginia inventor in England, the world is indebted for the practical application of steam to navigation. He was the perfecter of the steamboat, and not even time can rob his memory of the honors which civilization has awarded it.

Fulton remained in England twelve years after the death of Rumsey, and from 1800 to 1804, was engaged in an effort to explain the principles of his steamboat to dull monarchs, but succeeded no better than did Columbus 300 years before, when endeavoring to convince them of the rotundity of the earth. Discouraged by continued failure to secure aid in the old World, Fulton returned to his native land, and here found a patron in the person of Chancellor Livingston of New York, who had met him in Paris. Genius, aided by money, triumphed at last, and on

the 7th day of August, 1807, the "Clermont" left the wharf of New York, and plowed its way up the Hudson bound for Albany. The voyage extended over 150 miles, and was completed in thirty-two hours. The dream of ages was realized. Steam navigation was a reality. Thus was civilization given its greatest step forward, and the names of Rumsey, Fitch and Fulton are inseparably connected with the world's greatest triumph.

The "Clermont" was lengthened and her name changed to the "North River." In 1807, Fulton and his associates built the "Raritan," designed for the river of that name, and the same year began the building of the "Car of Neptune," to run on the Hudson.

The fourth steamboat was to be navigated on distant waters. The complete success attending the experiments of steam navigation on the Hudson and adjacent streams, turned the attention of its principal projectors to its application on the western rivers. Beyond the Alleghenies, the Ohio, the greatest commercial river of inland America, stretched away to the southwest through one of the most productive regions of the globe. Whether it was navigable for steamboats was not known, but Fulton and Livingston determined to ascertain.

Nicholas J. Roosevelt was one of the leading civil engineers of New York, and a contract was entered into between himself and Livingston and Fulton, by the terms of which he was to make the necessary investigation of the Ohio, and if the stream was found to be navigable, the two latter were to furnish the capital and a steamboat was to be built under the supervision of Roosevelt, in which the three were to share equally. He accordingly crossed the Alleghenies and, accompanied by his bride, reached Pittsburg, in May, 1809.

No daily newspaper heralded the coming or arrival of the great engineer, and none, save his co-partners, knew his business or the object of his visit. He whose coming was to mark an era in the history of inland commerce, was now upon the scene. Two thousand miles of river stretched away from Pittsburgh to the Mexican gulf, and this he came to explore.

A little flat-boat was built on the point between the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and on board were taken supplies necessary for the voyage. All things were in readiness, and he and his lovely bride went on board. The boat was loosed from her moorings and floated out on the current which was to bear them onward from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. Wonderful voyage! It was midsummer, and at every angle of the river was presented an ever-shifting panorama of river, plain, hill and forest. Deer, elk and buffalo browsed along the banks or sought shelter from the midday sun beneath the primeval forest that then overshadowed nearly the whole course

of the "Beautiful River." Wheeling, Marietta, Parkersburg, Cincinnati and Louisville, were but villages, which were in the wilderness what oases are to the desert. It was not a long time ago, but it was thirteen years before the founding of Chicago; two years before the beginning of the second war with Great Britain; James Madison had been in the presidential chair but three months; Ohio had been a member of the Union but six years, and Illinois territory had not been organized.

Onward floated the boat, Roosevelt making observations on the rapids and sounding the depths of the water. Six months passed away, and on the first of December the boat lay to at the port of New Orleans, and the happy couple ushered forth from their little cabin which had been their home for six months. Short was their stay in the "Crescent City," and they took the first ocean vessel bound for New York.

Roosevelt's report convinced Fulton of the feasibility of the project, and early in the spring of 1810, he was sent to Pittsburgh to superintend the building of the first steamboat on the western waters, and the fourth in the world.

Under a bluff called Boyd's Hill, on the present site of the Pittsburg and Connelsville railroad depot, and within the present corporate limits of Allegheny City, Roosevelt laid the keel of his boat. The plan was furnished by Fulton and required a hull 116 feet long and twenty feet beam. Mechanics were brought from New York and men were sent up the Monongahela to cut and hew knees, ribs and beams, and to raft and float them to the shipyard. Men came from New York to construct the engine which was to have a thirty-four-inch cylinder and boiler to be in proportion. Thus the work went steadily on, and during its progress the author of the "Navigator" was preparing his work in Pittsburgh, in which place it was published in 1812. Speaking of this, the first steamboat of the Ohio, and the probable success of the enterprise, he says:

"It will be a novel sight and as pleasing as novel, to see a huge boat working her way up the windings of the Ohio, without the appearance of sail, oar, pole or any manual labor about her—moving within the secrets of her own wonderful mechanism, and propelled by power undiscoverable. This plan, if it succeed, must open to view flattering prospects to an immense country, an interior of not less than two thousand miles of as fine a soil and climate as the world can produce, and to a people worthy of all the advantages that Nature and Art can give them; a people the more meritorious, because they know how to sustain peace, and live independent amid the crushing of empires, the falling of kings, the slaughter and bloodshed of millions, and the tumult, corruption and tyranny of all the world beside. * * * Indeed, the appearance of the placid and unbroken surface of the

Ohio invites to trade and enterprise, and from the canoe which the adventurer manages with a single pole or paddle, he advances to a small square ark boat which he loads at the head waters with various wares, liquors, fruits, dry goods and small groceries, and starts his boat for the river traffic, stopping at every village and town to accommodate the inhabitants with the best of his cargo. This voyage performed, which usually occupies three months, and the ark sold for half its first cost, the trader returns doubly invigorated, and enabled to enlarge his vessel and cargo, he sets out again; this is repeated until, perhaps getting tired of this mode of merchandising, he sets himself down in some town or village as a wholesale merchant, druggist, physician or lawyer, or something else that renders him respectable in the eyes of his neighbors, where he lives amid wealth and comfort the remainder of his days—nor is it by any known that his fortune was founded in the paddling of a canoe, or trafficking in cider royal, peach brandy, whiskey, etc. From the canoe, we now—1810—see ships of two or three tons burden, masted and rigged, descending the same Ohio, laden with the product of the country, bound to New Orleans, thence to any part of the world. And now the white sail of commerce is to give place to vessels propelled by steam.”

After nearly two years' labor the boat was completed at a cost of \$38,000 dollars, and after being launched was named the “New Orleans” from the place of her projected destination. The fires were lighted in the furnace, the steam was turned on and the vessel moved. The pilot steered her up the Monongahela, thence back and up the Allegheny. It was her trial trip and it was most satisfactory.

Then preparations were made to begin the descent of the Ohio. It was given out that Mrs. Roosevelt, who was a sister of J. H. B. Latrobe, the historian of Maryland, would accompany her husband on the experimental voyage and friends, many of whom she had won during her sojourn in Pittsburg, remonstrated with her. Her husband was informed that while he might risk his own life, he had no right to imperil that of his wife. But she, heroine that she was, had faith in him to whom she had entrusted her life and happiness and went on board the steamer, herself and husband being the only passengers. There was a captain whose name is not now known, an engineer named Baker, a pilot who bore the name of Andrew Jack, six hands, two female servants, a male servant, a cook and a large Newfoundland dog known to all on board as “Tiger.”

The Voyage Down the Ohio.—September 27, 1811, the morning of the steamer's departure came, and it was a gala-day in Pittsburg. Almost the entire population thronged the banks of the Monongahela. The boat lay at what is now the foot of

Wood street; dense columns of black smoke arose from her stacks. All was excitement. The ropes were untied; Baker, the engineer pulled the throttle, and the pilot swung her out into the stream and turned the prow down the river. Handkerchiefs were waved; hats were thrown up; cheers rent the air, and many a "God speed" was heard from the crowd as the steamer disappeared behind the first headlands.

Onward sped the vessel over the broad reach of the river at the rate of ten miles per hour. It was novelty to all on board, save to him upon whom so much depended, and for him the first night out there was no sleep. With his trusting wife beside him, the hours of darkness were spent on deck. The strange appearance of the vessel and the rapidity with which she made the descent of the river, excited a mixture of surprise and terror in the inhabitants living along the banks, whom the rumor of such an invention had never reached.

Late on the second night after leaving Pittsburg, she rounded to and was lashed to the bank at Cincinnati. There were neither levees nor wharfboats; many people stood on the shore and some who had formed the acquaintance of Mr. Roosevelt while exploring the river, rushed on board and exclaimed: "You have been as good as your word; you have come back in a steamboat to see us, but we see you now for the last time. Your boat will go down stream, but it will never come up.

The stay at Cincinnati was short, only long enough to take in wood for fuel, and the voyage continued. It was midnight of the 1st of October when the "New Orleans" made the landing at Louisville. It was a clear moonlight night, none on board had yet retired, and the extraordinary sound which filled the air as the pent up steam escaped from the valves, produced general alarm, and multitudes arose from their beds to ascertain the cause. Here every mark of attention was bestowed upon Mr. Roosevelt. A public dinner was given him at which complimentary toasts were frequent. Steam navigation down stream was acknowledged to be a success, but the return up stream was declared impossible. Roosevelt determined not to be outdone by the hospitality of the Kentuckians and he invited his hosts to a dinner on board the "New Orleans," which lay at the landing. While the party was seated at the table there were strange rumblings and a perceptible motion of the boat. Great alarm prevailed, for the visitors believed that she had broken from her moorings and was drifting toward the falls. But greater still was the surprise when it was found that she was progressing rapidly up stream and Louisville was being left behind. Proceeding a few miles she returned to the town with all on board convinced that she could go up stream as well as down.

After some days she made the descent of the falls in safety,

and proceeded onward toward her destination. Then came the terrible earthquake shocks, the effects of which are yet plainly visible along the banks of the Mississippi. A large portion of the town of New Madrid had subsided and was under water, and terror-stricken people insisted on being taken on board, while others feared the steamer more than the earthquake.

At last she reached Natchez, where freight and passengers were taken on board for New Orleans, which place she soon reached, and was welcomed by loud shouts from the multitude gathered on the levee of the Crescent city. She then entered the New Orleans and Natchez trade, and never returned to the Ohio. The following relative to her business for 1812, is subjoined from a statement made in that year by Capt. Morris, who was one of her pilots:

"The boat's receipts for freight upward has averaged the last year, \$700; passage money, \$900; downward \$300, and \$500 for passengers. She performs thirteen trips during the year, which at \$2,400 per trip amounts to \$31,200. Her expenses are twelve hands, at \$30 per month each, equal to \$4,320; captain's salary \$1,000; seventy cords of wood each trip, at \$1.75 per cord, equal to \$1,586; total expenses being \$6,906. It is presumed that the boat's extra trips for pleasure, or otherwise, out of her usual route, has paid for all the expenses of repairs; and with the profits of the bar-room, for the boat's provisions, in which case there will remain a net gain of \$24,294 for the first year. The owners estimate the boat's value at \$40,000, which produces an interest of \$24,000, and by giving \$1,894 more for furniture, etc., we have a clear gain of \$20,000 for the first year's labor of the steamer "New Orleans." This is a revenue superior to any other establishment in the United States, and what is equally gratifying, arising out of a capital whose application is of singular benefit to the whole community, and particularly so as it respects the navigation of the western waters."

Nicholas J. Roosevelt. As has been seen, the introduction of steam navigation, was due to the efforts of Nicholas J. Roosevelt, and it is a natural desire to know more of him. He was born in New York City, December 27, 1767, and was but two years the junior of Robert Fulton. His father was Isaac Roosevelt, a member of the continental congress from New York, and after the revolution, a member of the general assembly of that state. Young Nicholas was well educated and possessed inventive genius and a love for mechanics. This made him a valuable auxiliary to Fulton and Livingston, with whom he was so long and intimately associated. On the 6th of September, 1798, he explained to Livingston a vertical wheel which was the first practical suggestion toward making steam navigation a commercial success, though both Fulton and Livingston insisted for years in

saying that "vertical wheels are out of the question." But in 1802, both yielded, and in January of that year, launched a boat so constructed. Fulton gave Roosevelt due credit for the invention, and February 7, 1809, said: "I have no pretention to be the first inventor of the steam-boat. Hundreds have tried it and failed. That to which I claim exclusive right is the proportioning of the boat to the power of the engine, and the velocity with which the wheels of the boat or both move with the maximum velocity attainable by the power and the construction of the whole machine." Roosevelt spent his life in improving steam appliances, and died at Skaneateles, N. Y., July 30, 1854. The following was Fulton's opinion of him: "As to Roosevelt, I regard him as a noble-minded intelligent man, and I would do anything that I could to serve him."

We have not space in an article of this character, to pursue the history of steam navigation on the Ohio. Suffice it to say that from 1811 to 1818, fifteen steamers were built at different points on the river and in the years that followed, there was, through its agency, developed the greatest inland commerce of the world. By the year 1820, forty steamers had been built on the western waters, of which seven had been wrecked and thirty-three were navigating the Mississippi and its tributaries.



CHAPTER XVII.

BY VIRGIL A. LEWIS.

POINT PLEASANT, THE OLDEST ENGLISH TOWN ON THE OHIO — CLAIMS
OF WHEELING — OF MARIETTA.

HICH is it! Wheeling, Marietta or Point Pleasant? That it is one of these is conceded, but which one is in reality the oldest? Let us examine the records. These are now the only source of information, for more than a hundred years have passed away since the founding of these towns, and all who could have told of it have long since passed from among the living. Every student of American annals is familiar with the claims of France to the Ohio valley and of her efforts to maintain the same. He knows also of the claims of Great Britain to the same territory, and upon which these were based by both nations. The former acted upon the principle that "They should *keep* who have the power," and the latter upon a nearly similar one that "They should *take* who can." France, convinced of the justness of her title, after addressing an appeal to the nations of the world, determined not to yield before the threatening attitude of her powerful rival, and accordingly began the erection of a cordon of forts, extending from St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1746, as a preliminary step in taking possession of the country drained by the Ohio and its tributaries, the Marquis de la Gallisoniere, governor-general of New France (Canada), determined to place along the "Oyo" of La Belle Rivere, a number of leaden plates suitably inscribed, asserting the claims of France to the country on both sides of the river, even to the sources of its tributaries.

The command of the expedition, whose duty it was to deposit these plates, was given to Capt. Bienville de Celeron, and consisted of eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty-five soldiers, 180 Canadians and fifty-five Indians. The expedition left Montreal June 15, 1749, and on the 29th reached *La Belle Rivere*, at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. From there the expedition descended the river, depositing plates at the mouths of the principal tributaries, among them, one at the mouth of Wheeling Creek (now Wheeling); one at the mouth of the Muskingum (now Marietta), and another at

the mouth of the Great Kanawha (now Point Pleasant). Of these, the ones interred at Marietta and Point Pleasant have been found. These were the first Europeans that descended the Ohio, and they carried the beautiful *Fleur-de-lis*—emblem of France. None had yet borne to the banks of the “Beautiful river,” the Red Cross of St George—the proud and gorgeous ensign of old England.

The final contest for territorial supremacy in America was near at hand. The truce secured by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ended, and the war-cloud was transferred from Europe to the wilds of North America, where the storm burst with all its fury, and continued to rage for six long years. The struggle ended, and the world knows the result. The power and dominion of France have disappeared, and no traces of their lost sovereignty exist, save in the names of the prominent streams and landmarks of the country, and in the leaden plates which, inscribed in her language, still lie buried on the banks of the Ohio.

It now only remained for England to possess the country thus wrested from a sister kingdom, and her explorers, surveyors and adventurers hastened to the Ohio valley. In 1765 Major George Crogan and party descended the Ohio and saw the present sites of Wheeling, Marietta and Point Pleasant. (Appendix, Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 365.) Five years later, in 1770, Washington, in company with several Virginians, crossed the mountains to Fort Pitt, and thence descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, where the month of October was spent in making surveys. When the work was completed the party returned to the east. At that time all authorities agree that there was not an Anglo-Saxon settlement from Fort Pitt to the mouth of the Ohio. Then, when and where was the first one made?

Claims of Wheeling.—There was, then, no English speaking people residing on the banks of the Ohio prior to the year 1770, but De Hass says (History of Northwest Virginia, p. 332), that, “On a bright morning of June in that year, Colonel Ebenezer Zane stood on the high bank of the Ohio just above the confluence of Wheeling creek and gazed upon the outspread landscape of island, hill and river. The founder of a future city was then upon the site upon which it was to be reared. Erecting a cabin, he remained one season on the Ohio, and then returning east he induced a few resolute friends to accompany him. He removed westward in the spring of 1772, but deeming it unsafe to carry his family to the banks of the Ohio, he left them at Redstone (now Brownstown, Pennsylvania), and in company with his brothers, Jonathan and Silas, and two or three others, proceeded to take possession of their rights on the Ohio.” Completing his cabin and having opened a clearing, Mr. Zane visited

Redstone and that fall made a final removal. With the opening of the spring of 1773 came a number of settlers from the south branch and thus was formed a settlement that has grown to be a city of many thousand. (De Hass, p. 334.) Thus was laid the foundation of the "Nail City," so long Virginia's metropolis of the west.

We have quoted from Dr. De Hass's valuable work because it is believed that his personal acquaintance with representatives of the Zane family, access to their family records, private papers, etc., insure accuracy in the narration of events with which the brave and honored pioneers who bore that name were connected.

A storm of Indian warfare hovered near; Dunmore's war was at hand. The stockade was the only place of safety. Several at once arose along the frontier, among them Fort Fincastle, at the mouth of Wheeling creek. It was built in 1774, by a company of Virginia militia, under the joint direction of Maj. Angus McDonald and Capt. William Crawford. (History of Pan Handle, p. 93.) In 1776, Patrick Henry became the first commonwealth governor of Virginia, and in honor of him the name of the fort at Wheeling was changed to Fort Henry, and as such it was known until the ruthless barbarian no longer visited the southern banks of the Ohio. Then its walls were razed to the ground to make room for the dwelling places of civilized men.

On the 26th day of September, 1792, by an act of the general assembly, a ferry was established from the lands of James Caldwell, in Ohio county, across the mouth of Wheeling creek to the lands of Ebenezer Zane. (Shepherd's Virginia Statutes at Large, vol. 1, p. 158.) The same act provided for the establishment of several ferries from lands in Ohio county across the Ohio river to lands in the Northwest territory.

Wheeling was legally constituted a town by legislative enactment, December 25, 1795, when the General Assembly enacted, "That the late property of Ebenezer Zane, as the same is already laid off in lots and streets in the county of Ohio and on the Ohio river shall be established a town by the name of Wheeling, and John McIntyre, Andrew Woods, Henry Smith, Archibald Woods, James Nelson, Robert Woods, Absalom Martin and William Waddle, gentlemen, shall be and they are hereby constituted trustees thereof." (Shepherd's Virginia Statutes, vol. 1, p. 424.)

Wheeling became the seat of justice of Ohio county (created in October, 1776) in 1797, and the first county court convened at that place at the house of John Gooding, an innkeeper, May 7, 1798. (History of the Pan Handle, p. 156.)

Claims of Marietta.—The most important act of the last Continental Congress was the establishment of a settled government for the northwest territory. It was one of the most important

laws ever enacted by the representatives of the American people. That vast domain had been ceded to the general government by New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia, and the next important event was to be the founding of a new state within its limits. This was done by the Ohio company of associates, formed in 1786, and composed for the most part of officers and soldiers of the Revolution, whose homes were principally in New England. Its purchase, the terms of which were completed October 17, 1787, embraced a tract of land containing about one and a half million acres. This was the second survey made within the present limits of Ohio, and was situated principally within the present boundaries of Washington, Athens, Meigs and Gallia counties, in that state.

At a meeting of the directors of the company held November 23, 1787, Gen. Rufus Putnam was chosen superintendent. Early in December six boat builders and a number of other mechanics were sent forward to Simrall's Ferry (now West Newton), on the Youghiougheny, under the command of Major Hatfield White. The party reached its destination in January, and at once proceeded to build a boat for the use of the company.

Early in winter the pioneers left their New England homes and began the journey to other homes to be found in the western wilderness. They passed over the Alleghenies and reached the Youghiougheny about the middle of February. The "Mayflower," as the boat was called, which was to transport the settlers to their destination, was forty-five feet long, twelve feet wide and of fifty tons burden. All things were in readiness. The voyagers embarked at Simrall's Ferry and passed down the Youghiougheny into the Monongahela, thence into the Ohio and down that river to the mouth of the Muskingum, where they arrived April 7, 1788, *and there made the first permanent settlement of civilized men within the present limits of Ohio.*

Their settlement was established upon a point of land between the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, just opposite and across the river from Fort Harmar, built in 1786, and at the time of the coming of colonists, garrisoned by a small military force under the command of Major Doughty. At a meeting held beneath the spreading boughs of the trees on the banks of the Muskingum, July 2, 1788, it was voted that Marietta should be the name of the town; it being thus named in honor of Maria Antoinette, queen of France. Thus was founded Marietta fifteen years after the first settlement of Wheeling, and fourteen years after the building of Fort Henry.

Claims of Point Pleasant.—Now, let us briefly notice Point Pleasant in the olden time. The first Englishman (so far as there is any record) that saw the site of Point Pleasant was Christopher Gist, who came as an explorer to the Ohio valley in

1750, in the interest of the Ohio Land company, a corporation formed before the French and Indian war, and composed of Virginians and Marylanders, with the single exception of Mr. Hanbury, of London. Gist's journal may be seen in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical society.

So far as known, the first white woman who saw the mouth of the Great Kanawha was Mary Ingles, who was taken prisoner by the Shawnee Indians, July 8, 1755, at the time of the Draper's Meadow's massacre — now Blacksburg, Montgomery county, Va. A few days after she passed the site of Point Pleasant on her way to spend a period in captivity beyond the Ohio. Four months later, when returning to her friends on the upper waters of New or Wood's river, she again saw Point Pleasant. (Trans-Allegheny Pioneers, p. 29.)

In 1763 Mrs. Hannah Dennis, when returning to her home on James river, from a three years' captivity among the Shawnee Indians, crossed the Ohio river on a drift log at the mouth of Kanawha, and many days later reached Fort Young on Jackson's river. (Withers' Border Warfare, p. 69.)

In 1764 Capt. William Arbuckle, one of the most daring pioneers whose names appear in frontier annals reached the site of Point Pleasant. It is a matter of record that he was the first white man who traversed the Great Kanawha valley. (See McMullen's Biographical Sketches.)

As before stated, Washington reached the site of Pt. Pleasant in the autumn of the year 1770. With him were Dr. Craig, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan, Daniel Renden and Colonel William Crawford, the latter of whom was burned at the stake by the Delaware Indians in what is now Crawford township, Wyandot county, Ohio, June 11, 1782.

An encampment was made and the work of surveying at once began. "A large sugar tree and sycamore at the mouth of the Kanawha and immediately on the upper point," was marked as the place of beginning. From this point a line was run to the mouth of Three Mile Creek on the north side of the Kanawha, and thence a zig-zag line to a point on the Ohio, one mile below Letart Falls; then a line with the meanderings of the Ohio to the place of beginning. This survey contained 51,302 acres or eighty square miles, and was subdivided among the patentees as follows: First a tract of 9,876 acres, including the present site of the town of Pt. Pleasant, for Andrew Lewis; then a tract containing 5,000 acres for George Muse; then a tract of 5,000 acres for Peter Hogg; then a tract of 8,000 acres for Andrew Stephens; then another tract of 3,000 acres for Peter Hogg; then another of 5,026 acres for George Muse; then a tract of 3,400 acres for Andrew Waggener; then a tract of 6,000 acres for John Poulson;

then a tract of 6,000 acres for John West. Operations were then transferred to the lower side of the Kanawha, and a tract of 13,532 acres was surveyed for Hugh Mercer and lastly a tract containing 10,990 acres on the south side of the Kanawha river for George Washington. These lands were all granted to the several patentees for services in the French and Indian war, every one of whom it is believed were with Braddock at the battle of Monongahela.

In the spring of 1773, James McCown, Hancock Taylor and James, George and Robert McAfee, all afterward prominent in the history of Kentucky, joined the party of Col. Thomas Bullitt, who for services in the French and Indian war, had received a patent for the lands upon which Charleston, the capital of the state, now stands, and all proceeded to Kentucky. In the year 1771, Simon Kenton and two companions—Yeager and Strader—reared the first cabin in the Great Kanawha valley, on the bank of Elk river, about two miles from the present city of Charleston. Here in the spring of 1773, they were attacked by the Indians. Yeager was killed, and Kenton and Strader, both wounded, fled down the Kanawha, and found refuge in a hunters' camp at Point Pleasant. (*Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*, p. 66.)

On the first of October, 1774, General Lewis's army, 1,100 strong, under the guidance of Captain William Arbuckle, reached Point Pleasant, and on the 10th of the same month waged the most fiercely contested battle ever fought with the Indians in Virginia, if not on the continent. Indeed, its desperate character has no parallel in the annals of forest warfare. That evening as the sun sank behind the low hills of the western wilderness, 140 wounded Virginians were borne by more fortunate comrades, into the encampment. A hundred detailed men at once reared the walls of Fort Randolph, and from that bloody October day, to the present time, an English speaking people have dwelt at Point Pleasant.

Capt. Arbuckle was placed in command of the fort, and in this capacity he was serving in 1778, when visited by Gen. George Rogers Clarke, then on his way to Kentucky, to lead the expedition against the British posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes. Capt. Arbuckle left Lieut. McKee in command, and accompanied Gen. Clarke in his western campaign. (*Butler's History of Kentucky*, p. 48.)

The general assembly, December 26, 1792, passed an act establishing a ferry from the lands of Thomas Lewis, across the Ohio to lands in the Northwest Territory. The same act provided for the establishment of a ferry across the mouth of the Kanawha, from the lands of Thomas Lewis to the lands of Robert Henderson, opposite; the rates for a man being 6 cents. (*Shepherd's Statutes at Large*, p. 158.)

December 19, 1794, the general assembly enacted that "Two hundred acres of land, the property of Thomas Lewis, at the mouth of the Kanawha river in the said county of Kanawha, as they are already laid off into lots and streets, shall be established a town by the name of Point Pleasant, and Lenard Cooper, John Van Bibber, Isaac Tyler, William Owens, William Allyn, John Reynolds, Allen Prior, George Clendenin and William Morris, gentlemen, appointed trustees thereof." (Shepherd's Statutes, vol. 1, p. 321.) Thus was begun the legal existence of Point Pleasant, one year and six days before that of Wheeling.

Now what are the facts? Simply these: That before the founding of Marietta and while the owl hooted amid the branches of the lofty trees, the howl of the wolf and the scream of the panther resounded through the forest, and while the fox "dug his hole unscared," on the site where that city now stands, daring pioneers, among whom were Daniel Boone, John Van Bibber, John Reynolds, Isaac Tyler, Michael See, Robert St. Clair, Benjamin Eulin and Luman Gibbs were dwelling in their cabin homes around the walls of old Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant. From beneath the mistletoe dressed boughs of the old sentinel tree which stood near by, a weary sentry had watched for the coming of the savage foe, fourteen years before a single white man had found a home at Marietta.

Fort Henry at Wheeling and Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant, were both reared the same year—1774. Both withstood the storm of savage warfare until the war-whoop of the barbarian was no longer heard on the banks of the Ohio. Then those who had found refuge within these walls went forth to conquest—not with the rifle—but with the axe to conquer the wilderness, that they might transmit a rich inheritance to their posterity.

Now, what do the records show? This: that Point Pleasant is fourteen years older than Marietta; twelve years older than Charleston, the capital of West Virginia; fifteen years older than Cincinnati; seventeen years older than Gallipolis, and twenty-two years older than Chillicothe. It is seventeen years older than Harrodsburg, the oldest town in Kentucky, in which state the first log cabin was built the same year that Fort Randolph was reared at Point Pleasant. Thus Point Pleasant is the oldest English town on the banks of the Ohio south of Pittsburgh. It is the "Jamestown" of the Ohio valley.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A VOYAGE DOWN THE OHIO RIVER FROM PITTSBURG TO LOUISVILLE,
IN 1787.*

HE Ohio is the grand artery of that part of America beyond the mountains; it is the center where all the waters meet, which on one side run from the Allegheny mountains, and on the other come from the highland in the vicinity of Lakes Erie and Michigan. It has been calculated that the region watered by those rivers, etc., comprised between Pittsburg and the Mississippi contains at least 260,000 square miles, equal to 166,920,000 acres. It is without a doubt the most fertile country, the most diversified and best watered soil, and that which offers to agriculture and commerce the most abundant and easy resources of all those that the Europeans have heretofore discovered and peopled.

It was on the 10th of April, at eight o'clock in the morning, that we quitted the quay of Pittsburg and gave ourselves up to the current of the Ohio. This navigation requires neither effort nor labor, but merely the art of steering well, knowing and avoiding the shoals, etc., and keeping in the middle of the channel; without either sails or oars we proceeded along at the rate of from three to five miles an hour, according to the disposition of the winds and the different windings of the river, which almost throughout preserves a width of from two to three hundred fathoms; we were at the beginning of the increase; already its waters had risen nine feet at the quay of Pittsburg, and I never found less than twelve at any time that I sounded.

This sweet and tranquil navigation appeared to me like an agreeable dream; every moment presented to me new perfectives, which were incessantly diversified by the appearance of the islands, points and the windings of the river, without intermission, changed by this singular mixture, shores more or less woody; whence the eye escaped from time to time to observe the great natural meadows which presented themselves incessantly, embellished by promontories of different heights, which for a moment seemed to hide, and then gradually unfolded to

*This chapter is a translation of an extract from the letter of Monsieur St. John, De Creve Coeur, a consul to New York from France in 1787, and will be read with much interest by the people living along the Ohio of this day.

the eyes of the navigator the bays and inlets more or less extensive, formed by the creeks and rivulets which fall into the Ohio. What majesty in the mouths of the great rivers which we passed. Their waters seemed to be as vast and profound as those of the river upon which we floated; I never before felt myself so much disposed for meditation. My imagination involuntarily leaped into futurity, the absence of which was not afflicting, because it appeared to me nigh—I saw those beautiful shores ornamented with decent houses, covered with harvests and well cultivated; on the hill exposed to the north I saw orchards regularly laid out in squares, on the others vine-yard plats, plantations of mulberry trees, acacias, etc.—I saw there also, in the inferior lands, the cotton tree and the sugar maple, the sap of which had become an object of commerce. I agree, however, that all those banks did not appear to me equally proper for culture, but as they will probably remain covered by their native forests, it must add to the beauty, to the variety of this future spectacle. What an immense chain of plantations. What a long succession of activity, industry, culture and commerce is offered to the Americans. I consider then the settling of the lands which are watered by this river, as one of the finest conquests that could ever be presented to man; it will be so much the more glorious, as it will be legally acquired of the ancient proprietors, and will not exact a single drop of blood. It is destined to become the source of force, riches and the future glory of the United States.

Toward noon on the third day we anchored at the mouth of the Muskingum, in two fathoms and a half of water. In order to give you a weak idea of what I call the anatomy of the Ohio, I will speak to you of this river and let you have a glimpse of what will one day be the utility of all its branches. It falls into the Ohio 172 miles from Pittsburg and is 120 fathoms wide. It is deep and navigable for large vessels to 147 miles in the inner part of the lands. Its current is moderate and never overflows the banks, which are elevated without being steep. One of its branches approaching all at once the greatest of the sources of the Scioto called the Seccaium, and the river Sandusky. This last falls as you know into the great bay of the same name at the bottom of Lake Erie. It is towards one of the principal branches of the Muskingum that the great savage village of Tuscarawas is built, whence a carriage of two miles leads to the river Cayaboga, deep and rather rapid, the mouth of which in Lake Erie forms an excellent harbor for ships of 200 tons. This place seems to be designed for a spot for a town and many persons of my acquaintance have already thought of it. All the travelers and hunters have spoken to me with admiration of the fertility of the plains and hills watered by the Muskingum, also of the excellent foun-

ains, salt pits, coal mines (particularly that of Lamenchicola) of free stones, etc., that they find throughout.

It was on the fourth morning at day break we weighed anchor, and in the space of three days of sweet and tranquil navigation, anchored before the Scioto, 218 miles from the Muskingum, and 390 from Pittsburg, in order to receive on board Gen. Richard Butler, who came from finishing some negotiations with the Shawnese. It is to him I am indebted for the following particulars of that fine river upon the banks of which he had resided during five years of the war.

The Scioto is almost as large as the Ohio; its current is navigable for vessels of a middle size, to the village of Seccaum, 111 miles from its mouth. At this village commences the grand portage of Sandusky which is but four miles. A communication much frequented by whites and savages, and consequently of the greatest importance. This river waters a champaign country very luxuriant and extensive.

Those vast lands so well known under the name of the plains of Scioto, begin some miles above the river Kuskinkas, and continue almost to Seccaum; they are watered by the pretty rivulets of Alaman, Deer, Kispoko, etc., and by a great number of more considerable streams. It is toward their sources that you have a view of the fine villages of the Shawnese nation—many of them are from twenty-five to thirty miles in circumference; and as if nature had been willing to render them still more useful to man, she has covered them with gentle risings, upon which she has planted the finest trees. These plains are never overflowed, and their fertility is most admirable. If a poor man who has nothing but his arms to support him, should ask of me where shall I go to establish myself in order to live more at my ease without the aid of oxen or horses? I would say to him, go upon the banks of some rivulet on the plains of Scioto—there you will obtain permission of the savages of the neighboring villages, to scratch the surface of the earth and deposit your rye, your corn, your potatoes, your cabbages, your tobacco, etc., leaving the rest to nature; and during her operations amuse yourself with fishing and hunting.

The uncultivated lands are annually covered with buffalo grass, which in October very much resembles thick forests of reeds, to which the Shawnees never fail to put fire, in order to prevent the approach of enemies, and to render the grass more tender and abundant in the spring. What a spectacle does this vast conflagration offer! It is at once interesting and terrible! Interesting from its appearance; from the noise and brightness of the flames; the whirlwinds; the masses of thick and dark smoke, and many other curious and extraordinary phenomena which accompany it. It is terrible from the involuntary senti-

ment of danger that this great scene of devastation presents, and from the fear that some unhappy travelers are crossing these plains at this epoch; for every year many of them perish here. I have no expressions which could paint to you the velocity of these devouring fires; quickly they rarify the air of the adjacent parts, and agitate the tranquillity of the atmosphere; then a furious wind exhibits itself in the middle of the most calm day. In certain places it raises the flames in spiral columns to a prodigious height; in others it seems to compress and roll them in masses of different diameters. Often detached sparks by the impetuosity of this same wind, are transported to the extreme of its own strength; there they become imperceptibly the principles of new flames, but lie latent to display themselves when the grand author (the wind) strikes them; then on all sides a second conflagration appears; a second line of fire is raised, glitters and rolling upon itself, devours every combustible object. If it meets in its passage any woody islands, it consumes the groves; and the tempest which accompanies it often breaks and throws down almost all the trees.

The whirlwinds of dark and thick smoke, which are raised in a thousand different forms, announce at a great distance, to the traveler, the danger of his situation. He is lost if he is not in the vicinity of highlands or a river. I have seen the torrents run through the breadth of the plains in a very short space of time, and assure you that I never attentively considered this great picture of destruction without being penetrated with an involuntary dread, knowing that these terrible effects are produced by the combination of the two most powerful elements of nature, which mutually increase their destructive power.

Going one day from the village of Waccahala to that of Chilichatee, I perceived the commencement of one of these great fires. What was my consternation and terror when a few minutes latter a second and third line of conflagration showed themselves at a mile's distance. I did not know whence the fire came, and although I was well-mounted, and had not more than 600 or 700 fathoms to travel, my horse, nevertheless, could hardly save me.

Every spring a prodigious number of storks came to inhabit these plains; they are at least six feet high; while feeding they have their sentinels to watch and announce the approach of danger; some time before their departure they assemble in large flocks, and upon certain day, altogether, raise themselves slowly, and by a kind of a circular ascent, describe large spiral paths in their flight.

Finally, on the tenth day after our departure from Pittsburg, we anchored before Louisville, having made 705 miles of navigation, in 212 hours and thirty minutes of time.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE OHIO COMPANY.



GOVERNOR SPOTTSWOOD, of Virginia, was the first projector of a company to settle land on the Ohio river, as early as 1716. This scheme, however, failed, owing partly to the timidity of the British Ministry of that day, who were afraid of giving offense to the French, and partly to jealousy among the colonists. In 1748 the project was revived; a grant was made to a company of a large body of land on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kanawha. Mr. Gist was sent to explore the country. The governor of Canada became alarmed at his movements, and labored to excite the fears of the Indians and also give notice to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania that the English traders had encroached on the French territory, and that if they did not desist they would be seized wherever found.

It is also stated by Judge Marshall, in his life of Washington, that the traders from Pennsylvania, becoming apprehensive that the Ohio company would transfer the Indian trade previously enjoyed almost entirely by that colony, to the Potomac, communicated to the Indians the object for which the English visited the Ohio. The notice sent by the governor of Canada being disregarded, the British traders among the Twightees were seized and sent as prisoners to Presque Isle, where a fort was then building. The attempt of the English to prosecute the trade of the Indians could not have been the real motive for this act of violence, because neither nation pretended to have an exclusive right to the trade, and the treaty of Utrecht expressly stipulated for its freedom. France had then projected the magnificent scheme of uniting Canada and Louisiana, and to carry it into effect it became necessary to put an end to the English trade with the Indians in the countries between the lakes and the Ohio.

This grant of land to the Ohio company, being the first grant on the Ohio river, cannot be passed by unnoticed. The following notice of it is taken from "Spark's Life and Writings of Washington":

"In the year 1748, Thomas Lee, one of his majesty's council in Virginia formed the design of effecting settlements on the wild lands west of the Allegheny mountains through the agency

of an association of gentlemen. Before this date there were no English residents in those regions. A few traders wandered from tribe to tribe and dwelt among the Indians, but they neither cultivated nor occupied the land.

"With the view of carrying this plan into operation, Mr. Lee associated himself, with twelve other persons in Virginia and Maryland and with Mr. Hanbury, a merchant in London, who formed what they called the Ohio company. Lawrence Washington and his brother, Augustine Washington, were among the first who engaged in this scheme. A petition was presented to the king in behalf of the company, which was approved, and five hundred thousand acres of land were granted almost in the terms requested by the the company.

"The object of the company was to settle the lands and to carry on the Indian trade upon a large scale. Hitherto the trade with the western Indians had been mostly in the hands of the Pennsylvanians. The company conceived that they might derive an important advantage over their competitors in this trade from the water communications of the Potomac and the eastern branches of the Ohio whose head waters approximated each other. The lands were to be chiefly taken on the south side of the Ohio between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers and west of the Allegheny. The privilege was reserved, however, by the company, of embracing a portion of the lands on the north side of the river if it should be deemed expedient. Two hundred thousand acres were to be selected immediately, and to be held for ten years free from quitrent or any tax to the king, on condition that the company should at their own expense, seat 100 hundred families on the land within seven years, and build a fort and maintain a garrison sufficient to protect the settlement.

"The first steps taken by the company were to order Mr. Hanbury, their agent in London, to send over for their use two cargoes of goods suited to the Indian trade, amounting in the whole to £4,000 sterling, one cargo to arrive in November, 1749, and the other in March following. They resolved also that such roads should be made and houses built as would facilitate the communication from the head of navigation on the Potomac river across the mountains to some point on the Monongahela. And as no attempt at establishing settlements could safely be made without some previous arrangement with the Indians, the company petitioned the government of Virginia to invite them to a treaty. As a preliminary to other proceedings, the company also sent out Mr. Christopher Gist with instructions to explore the country, examine the quantity of land, keep a journal of his adventures, draw as accurate a plan of the country as his observations would permit, and report the same to the board. On his

first tour he was absent nearly seven months, penetrated the country for several hundred miles north of the Ohio, visited the Twightee Indians, and proceeded as far south as the falls of that river. In November following (1751), he passed down the south side of the river as far as the Great Kanawha, and spent the winter in exploring the land on that route. Meantime the Indians had failed to assemble at Logstown, where they had been invited by the governor of Virginia to a treaty. It was natural that the traders who had already got possession of the ground, should endeavor to bias the Indians and throw obstacles in the way of any interference from another quarter. The French were likewise tampering with them, and from political motives were using means to withdraw them from every kind of alliance or intimacy with the English. The company found that it would be in vain to expect much progress in their designs till measures had been adopted for winning over the Indians, and accordingly the purposed treaty of Logstown took place the next year, when Mr. Gist attended as an agent from the company, and the Indians agreed not to molest any settlements that might be made on the southeast side of the Ohio. This treaty was concluded June 13, 1752. Col. Fry and two other commissioners were present on the part of Virginia.

"It is remarkable, that in the debates attending the negotiations of this treaty, the Indians took care to disclaim a recognition of the English title to any of these lands. In a speech to the commissioners, one of the old chiefs said, You acquainted us yesterday with the King's right to all the lands in Virginia, as far as it is settled, and back from thence to the sun setting, whenever he shall think fit to extend his settlement. You produced also a copy of his deed from the Onondaga council, at the treaty of Lancaster (1744); and desired, that your brethren of the Ohio might likewise confirm the deed. We are well acquainted that our chief council at the treaty of Lancaster confirmed a deed to you for a quantity of land in Virginia, which you have a right to; but we never understood, before you told us yesterday that the lands then sold were to extend farther to the sunsetting than the hill on the other side of the Allegheny hill, so that we can give you no further answer." - *M.S. Journal of the Commissioners.*

"Hence it appears that the Indians west of the Ohio who inhabited the land, had never consented to any treaty ceding them to the English, nor understood that this cession extended beyond the Allegheny mountains.

"When the company was first instituted, Mr. Lee, its projector, was its principal organ and most efficient member. He died soon afterward, and then the chief management fell on Lawrence Washington, who had engaged in the enterprise with

an enthusiasm and energy peculiar to his character. His agency was short, however, as his rapidly declining health soon terminated in his death. Several of the company's shares changed hands. Gov. Dinwiddie and George Mason became proprietors. There were originally but twenty shares, and the company never consisted of more than that number of members.

"Mr. Lawrence Washington had a project for inducing German settlers to take up the lands. He wrote to Mr. Hanbury as follows: "Whilst the unhappy state of my health called me back to our springs (at Bath in Virginia), I conversed with all the Pennsylvania Dutch, whom I met either there or elsewhere, and much recommended their settling on the Ohio. The chief reason against it was the paying of an English clergyman, when few understood, and none made use of him. It has been my opinion, and I hope ever will be, that restraints on conscience are cruel, in regard to those on whom they are imposed and injurious to the country imposing them. England, Holland and Prussia I may quote as examples, and much more Pennsylvania, which has flourished under that delightful liberty, so as to become the admiration of every man, who considers the short time it has been settled. As the ministry have thus far shown a true spirit of patriotism, by encouraging the extending of our dominions in America, I doubt not by an application they would still go farther and complete what they have begun, by procuring some kind of charter to prevent the residents on the Ohio and its branches from being subject to parish taxes. They all assured me that they might have from Germany any number of settlers could they obtain their favorite exemption. I have promised to endeavor for it and now do my utmost by this letter. I am well assured we shall never obtain it by a law here. This colony was greatly settled in the latter part of Charles the First's time and during the usurpation by the zealous churchmen; and that spirit, which was then brought in, has ever since continued, so that except a few Quakers we have no dissenters. But what has been the consequence? We have increased by slow degrees, except negroes and convicts, whilst our neighboring colonies, whose natural advantages are greatly inferior to ours have become populous.

"A proposition was made by several Germans in Pennsylvania that if they could have the above exemption, they would take 50,000 acres of the company's land, and settle it with 200 families. Mr. Washington wrote likewise on the subject to Gov. Dinwiddie, then in England, who replied: 'It gave me pleasure, that the Dutch wanted fifty thousand acres of land granted to the Ohio company, and I observe what you write about their own clergymen, and your endeavor to have them freed from paying the Church of England. I fear this will be a difficult task

to get over; and at present the parliament is so busy with public affairs, and the ministry in course engaged, that we must wait some time before we can reply; but be assured of my utmost endeavors therein.' No proof exists that any other steps were ever taken in the affair.

"Soon after the treaty at Logstown, Mr. Gist was appointed the company's surveyor and instructed to lay off a town and fort at Shurtees Creek, a little below the present site of Pittsburg and on the east side of the Ohio. The company assessed on themselves four hundred pounds towards constructing the fort. In the meantime Mr. Gist had fixed his residence on the other side of the Alleghenies, in the valley of the Monongahela, and induced eleven families to settle around him on lands, which it was presumed would be within the company's grant. The goods had come over from England, but had never been taken farther into the interior than Will's Creek, where they were sold to traders and Indians, who received them at that post. Some progress had been made in constructing a road to the Monongahela but the temper of the Indians was such as to discourage an attempt to send the goods at the company's risk to a more remote point.

"Things were in this state when the troubles on the frontiers broke out between the French and the English, involving on one side or the other the various Indian tribes. All further operations were suspended until toward the close of the war, when hostilities had nearly ceased on the Virginia frontier, from the capture of Fort Du Quesne and the weakened efforts of the French. In 1760, a state of the company's case was drawn up by Mr. John Mercer, secretary to the board, and forwarded to Mr. Charleton Palmer, a solicitor in London, who was employed by the company to apply to the king for such further orders and instructions to the government in Virginia, as might enable the company to carry their grant into execution. The business was kept in a state of suspense for a period of three years when the company resolved to send out an agent, with full powers to bring it as speedily as possible to a close. Col. George Mercer was selected for this commission, and instructed to procure leave for the company to take up their lands according to the conditions of the original grant, or to obtain a reimbursement of the money which had been paid on the faith of that grant. He repaired to London accordingly and entered upon his charge, but at this time the counteracting interests of private individuals in Virginia, the claims of the officers and soldiers under Dinwiddie's proclamation, which extended to lands within the Ohio company's grant, and moreover the schemes and applications of the proprietors of Walpole's grant were obstacles not to be overcome. Col. Mercer remained six years in London without mak-

ing any apparent progress in the object of his mission, and at last he agreed to merge the interests of the Ohio company in those of Walpole's or the Grand company, as it was called, on condition of securing to the former two shares in the latter, amounting to one thirty-sixth part of the whole. These terms were not approved by the members of the Ohio company in Virginia, nor was it clear that Col. Mercer's instructions authorized him to conclude such an arrangement. While the subject was still in agitation, the Revolutionary war came on and put an end, not only to the controversy but to the existence of the two companies. Thus the Ohio company was in action only about four years, having never in reality revived after its first check at the commencement of hostilities with the French and the Indians on the frontiers. All persons concerned were losers to a considerable amount, though at its outset the scheme promised important advantages both to individuals and to the country at large."

Thus terminated the first Ohio company. Its successor by that name was more fortunate in many respects. The second was composed of men from New England. The articles of agreement for this second company together with many reports of historical importance are here given.

BOSTON, 4TH OF MARCH, 1786.

At a convention from eight counties of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That Col. Hull, Maj. Sargent and Capt. Mills be a committee to transact the necessary business of the Ohio company until the directors are chosen.

They are to open a correspondence with any gentlemen whom they may think likely to encourage the company's designs, and forward the completion of the funds proposed, in such way and manner as they shall judge best calculated to effect the same.

They shall notify the place for the agents to meet at, for the purpose of choosing directors, etc., on the 17th day of October next, or as much sooner as they may suppose necessary for the interest of the company.

They shall also hold communications and receive reports as often as conveniently can be, from those gentlemen collecting subscriptions.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT. Entered into by the subscribers, for constituting an association, by the name of the OHIO COMPANY.

The design of this association is to raise a fund in continental certificates, for the sole purpose, and to be appropriated to the entire use of purchasing lands in the western territory (belonging to the United States) for the benefit of the company, and to promote a settlement in that country.

ARTICLE 1ST. That the fund shall not exceed one million dol

lars, in continental specie certificates, exclusive of one year's interest due thereon (except as hereafter provided) and that each share or subscription, shall consist of one thousand dollars as aforesaid, and also ten dollars in gold or silver, to be paid into the hands of such agent as the subscriber may elect.

ARTICLE 2d. That the whole fund of certificates raised by this association, except one year's interest due thereon, mentioned under the first article, shall be applied to the purchase of lands in some one of the purposed states, northwesterly of the river Ohio, as soon as those lands are surveyed and exposed for sale by the commissioners of congress, according to the ordinance of that honorable body, passed the 20th of May, 1785; or on any other plan that may be adopted by congress, not less advantageous to the company. The one year's interest shall be applied to the purpose of making a settlement in the country and assisting those who may be otherwise unable to remove themselves thither. The gold and silver is for defraying the expenses of those persons employed as agents in purchasing the lands and other contingent charges that may arise in the prosecution of the business. The surplus (if any) to be appropriated as the one year's interest on the certificates.

ARTICLE 3d. That there shall be five directors, a treasurer and a secretary, appointed in manner, and for the purposes hereafter provided.

ARTICLE 4th. That the prosecution of the company's designs may be the least expensive, and at the same time, the agents and subscribers as secure as possible, the proprietors of twenty shares shall constitute one grand division of the company, appoint their agent, and in case of vacancy by death, resignation or other ways, shall fill it up as immediately as can be.

ARTICLE 5th. That the agent shall make himself accountable to each subscriber for certificates and moneys received by duplicate receipts (one of which shall be lodged with the secretary), that the whole shall be appropriated according to those articles of association, and that the subscriber shall receive his just dividend as to quantity and quality of the lands purchased, as near as possibly may be, by lot drawn in person, or through proxy, and that deeds of conveyance shall be executed to individual subscribers, by the agents, similar to those he shall receive from the directors.

ARTICLE 6th. That no person shall be permitted to hold more than five shares in the company's fund, and no subscription for less than a full share will be admitted; but this is not meant to prevent those who cannot, or choose not to adventure a full share from associating among themselves, and by one of their number subscribing the sum required.

ARTICLE 7th. That the directors shall have the sole disposal

of the company's fund, for the purposes before mentioned. That they shall, by themselves, or such person or persons as they think proper to intrust with the business, purchase lands for the benefit of the company, where, and in such way, either at public or private sale as they shall judge will be most advantageous to the company; they shall also direct the application of one year's interest, and gold and silver mentioned in the first article, to the purpose mentioned under the second article, in such way and manner as they shall think proper; for those purposes the directors shall draw on the treasurer from time to time, making themselves accountable for the application of the moneys agreeably to this association.

ARTICLE 8th. That the agents being accountable to the subscribers of the respective divisions, shall appoint the director, treasurer and secretary, and fill up all the vacancies which may happen in these respectively.

ARTICLE 9th. That the agents shall pay all the moneys and certificates received from subscribers into the hands of the treasurer, who shall give bonds to the agents, jointly and severally for the faithful discharge of his trust, and also on his receiving certificates or moneys from any particular agent, shall make himself accountable therefor, according to the condition of his bonds.

ARTICLE 10th. That the directors shall give bonds jointly and severally to each of the agents, conditional that the certificates and moneys they shall draw out of the treasury shall be applied to the purposes stipulated in these articles, and that the lands purchased for the company, shall be divided among them within three months from the completion of the purchase, by lot, in such manner as the agents or a majority of them shall agree, and that on such divisions being made, the directors shall execute deeds to the agents respectively for the proportions which fall to their divisions, correspondent to those the directors may receive from the commissioners of congress.

ARTICLE 11th. Provided, that whereas a sufficient number of subscribers may not appear to raise the fund to the sums purposed in the 1st Article, and thereby the number of divisions may not be complete; it is therefore agreed, that the agents of divisions of twenty shares each, shall, after the 17th day of October next, proceed in the same manner as if the whole fund proposed had been raised.

ARTICLE 12th. Provided also, that whereas it will be for the common interest of the company to obtain an ordinance of incorporation from the honorable the congress, or an act of incorporation from some of the states in the union (for which the directors shall make application). It is therefore agreed that in case such incorporation is obtained, the fund of the company (and consequently the shares and divisions thereof) may be ex-

tended to any sum, for which provision shall be made in said ordinance, or act of incorporation, anything in this association to the contrary notwithstanding.

ARTICLE 13th. That all votes under this association may be given in person or by proxy, and in number justly proportionate to the stock holden, or interest represented.

JULY 23D, 1787.

The following report of a committee being amended to read as follows:

"That the board of treasury be authorized and empowered to contract with any person or persons for a grant or tract of land which shall be bounded by the Ohio, from the mouth of Scioto to the intersection of western boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio, thence by a due west line to Scioto, thence by the Scioto to the beginning, upon the following terms, viz.: The tract to be surveyed and its contents ascertained by the geographer, or some other officer of the United States, who shall plainly mark the said east and west line, and shall render one complete plat to the board of treasury, and another to the purchaser or purchasers. The purchaser or purchasers within seven years from the completion of this work, to lay off the whole tract at their own expense, in townships or fractional parts of townships, and to divide the same into lots according to the land ordinance of the 20th of May, 1785, complete returns whereof to be made to the treasury board. The lot No. 16 in each township, or fractional part of a township, to be given perpetually for the purposes contained in said ordinance. The lot No. 29 in each township, or fractional part of a township, to be given perpetually for the purposes of religion. The lots No. 8, 11 and 26 in each township, or fractional part of a township, to be reserved for the future disposition of congress. Not more than two complete townships to be given perpetually for the purposes of an university, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers, as near the center as may be, so that the same shall be of good land, to be applied to the intended object by the legislature of the state. The price to be not less than one dollar per acre for the contents of the said tract, excepting the reservation and gifts aforesaid, payable in specie, certificates reduced to specie value, or certificates of liquidated debts of the United States, liable to reduction by an allowance for bad lands, and all incidental charges and circumstances whatever; provided, that such allowance shall not exceed in the whole, one-third of a dollar per acre. And in making payment, the principal only of the said certificates shall be admitted, and the board of treasury, for such interest as may be due on the certificates rendered in payment as aforesaid, prior to January 1, 1786, shall issue indents for interest to the possessors, which shall be receivable in payment as other indents for

interest of the existing requisitions of congress, and for such interest as may be due on said certificates, between that period and the period of payment the said board shall issue indents, the payment of which to be provided for in future requisitions or otherwise. Such of the purchasers as may possess rights for bounties of land to the late army, to be permitted to render the same in discharge of the contract, acre for acre, provided that the aggregate of such rights shall not exceed one-seventh part of the land to be paid for; and provided also that there shall be no future claim against the United States on account of the said rights. Nor less than \$500,000 of the purchase money to be paid down upon closing of the contract, and the remainder upon the completion of the work to be performed by the geographer, or other officer on the part of the United States. Good and sufficient security to be given by the purchaser or purchasers, for the completion of the contract on his or their part. The grant to be made upon the full payment of the consideration money, and a right on entry and occupancy to be acquired immediately for so much of the tract as shall be agreed upon between the board of treasury and the purchasers.

Ordered, That the foregoing report be referred to the board of treasury to take order.

(Signed)

CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec'y.

A true copy, compared with the original.

WILLIAM DUER,

Secretary to the board of treasury.

In congress, July 27, 1787:

Ordered, That a letter of the 26th of July, 1787, from Menasah Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, to the board of treasury, containing proposals for the purchase of a tract of land, described in act of congress of the 23d inst., be referred to the board of treasury to take order; provided, that after the date of the second payment therein proposed to be made, the residue shall be paid in fixed, equal and half yearly installments, until the whole thereof shall be completed, and that the purchasers stipulate to pay interest on the sums due from the completion of the survey to be performed by the geographer.

WHEREAS, The United States, in congress assembled, have, by their ordinance passed the 20th of May, 1785, among other things, ordained "that the towns of Gradenhutten, Schsenbrun and Salem on the Muskingum and so much of the lands adjoining said towns, with the buildings and improvements thereon, shall be reversed for the sole use of the Christian Indians, who were formerly settled there on the remains of that society, as may in the judgment of the geographer be sufficient for them to cultivate.

Resolved, That the board of treasury accept and reserve out

of any contract they may make for the tract described in the report of the committee, which, on the 23rd inst., was referred to the said board to take order, a quantity of land around and adjoining each of the before mentioned towns, amounting in the whole to 10,000 acres, and that the property of the said reserved land be vested in the Moravian brethren, at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, or a society of the said brethren, for civilizing the Indians and promoting Christianity, in trust and for the uses expressed as above in the said ordinance, including Killbuck and his descendants, and the nephew and descendants of the late Capt. White Eyes, Delaware chiefs, who have distinguished themselves as friends to the cause of America.

Ordered, The above be also referred to the board of treasury to take order.

(Signed) CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec'y.

A true copy compared with the original.

WILLIAM DUER,

Sec'y to the Board of Treasury.

AUGUST 29TH, 1787.

At a meeting of the directors and agents of the Ohio company, held at the Bunch of Grapes tavern, in Boston, the following report was received from the Rev. Menassah Cutler:

That in consequence of resolves of congress, of the 23rd and 27th of January last, he agreed on the conditions of a contract with the Board of Treasury of the United States, for a particular tract of land, containing in the whole as much as the company's funds will pay for, should the subscriptions amount to one million of dollars, agreeably to the articles of association, at \$1 per acre, from which price is to be deducted one-third of a dollar for bad lands, and defraying the expenses of surveying, etc.

That those lands be bounded on the east by the western boundary of the seventh range of townships; south by the Ohio; west by a meridian line drawn through the western cape of the Great Kanawha river and extending so far north, that a due east and west land from the seventh range of townships to the said meridian line, shall include the whole.

This tract to be extended so far northerly as to comprehend within its limits, exclusively of the above purchase, one lot of 640 acres, in each township for the purposes of religion; an equal quantity for the support of schools, and two townships of 23,040 acres each, for an university to be as near the center of the whole tract as may be; which lots and townships are given by congress and appropriated for the above uses forever. Also three lots of 640 acres each, in every township reserved for the future disposition of congress; and the bounty lands of the military associators to be comprised within the whole tract; provided, they do not exceed one-seventh part thereof.

That \$500,000 be paid to the board of treasury upon closing the contract. In consideration of which, a right of entry and occupancy for a quantity of land equal to this sum, at the price stipulated, be given, and as soon as the geographer, or some proper officer of the United States, shall have surveyed and ascertained the quantity of the whole, the sum of \$500,000 more be paid, amounting in the total to one million of dollars, for which the company are to be put in possession of the moiety of the lands above described, and receive a deed of the whole from the said board of treasury.

Whereupon resolved, That the above report be received, and the proceedings of Mr. Cutler be fully approved, ratified and confirmed.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning, eight o'clock, to convene at Mr. Brackett's tavern.

AUGUST 30.

Met according to adjournment, and continued until the first of September, during which time the following resolutions were agreed to.

That 5,750 acres of land, near the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, be reserved for a city and commons.

That within the said tract, and in the most eligible situation there be appropriated for a city, sixty squares and 360 feet, by 360 feet each, in an oblong form, of ten squares in front, and six in depth, with streets of 100 feet in width through each range.

That four of said squares be reserved for public uses, and the remaining fifty-six be divided into house lots. That each square contain twelve house lots of sixty feet front, and 100 feet depth, and six lots of fifty-three and three-tenths feet by 108 feet, amounting in the total to 1,008 lots. And that this plan be pursued as nearly as the situation of the ground will admit; and when the same is completed, a plat thereof, with the lots numbered thereon, be transmitted to the secretary, who shall notify a meeting of the agents for the purpose of drawing said city lots, one of which shall be annexed to and become a part of each proprietary share. That contiguous to, and in the vicinity of the above tract, there be laid off 1,000 lots of sixty-four acres each, as equal as possible in quality and situation; one of which as the city lots, shall be considered a part of each proprietary share, and drawn for in the same manner; and that a complete survey and return of these lots be made by the first of March next, to the secretary's office.

That for the reception and protection of settlers, 100 houses of 36x15 feet, be erected in the course of the ensuing autumn and winter, on three sides of the before mentioned oblong square, and connected by a stockade.

That in order to carry into execution the above purposes, it is

absolutely necessary that the subscribers pay into the hands of their several agents, the moneys subscribed, that the same may be paid into the hands of the treasurer by the 4th of October next; which payment the agents are to make to the treasurer accordingly.

That as saw-mills and corn-mills will be necessary, in forwarding the settlement, proposals from any of the subscribers for erecting one or more of each kind, without expense to the proprietors, will be received by either of the directors, the treasurer or at the secretary's office; and such proposals will be decided upon as soon as may be, after the completion of the contract with the treasury board.

And, that the manner of removing the first settlers, and superintending their operations, will be agreed upon as soon as practicable.

Resolved, That General James M. Varnum, be one of the directors of the Ohio company, and that Col. Richard Platt be the treasurer.

A true copy from the journals.

WINTHROP SARGENT, Secretary.



CHAPTER XX.

THE SCIOTO LAND COMPANY.



UNDOUBTEDLY the great ordinance of 1787, which even at this day stands out boldly as an act of consummate wisdom, was the work and inspiration of more than one man—and while Jefferson was absent, yet it is clear that his views were known to the author, and while Dr. Manassah Cutler was a strong factor, and the probable hand that drew this masterpiece of political wisdom—yet it is not going beyond the bounds of facts to state that the views of Thomas Jefferson were well known to him, and was the foundation upon which the celebrated ordinance was built, that his own inspired mind was strengthened, and that the ordinance above mentioned was the work of Dr. Cutler, while it embraced the views of both Cutler and Jefferson, and was really the joint work of these master minds, who have left the impress of their greatness and wisdom upon their country's history. It was the product of what we may call inspired statesmanship, the foundation upon which five great commonwealths were to be built up, the fundamental law, the constitution of the northwest territory, and a sacred compact between the old colonies and the yet uncreated states to come into being under its benign influence. The congress of 1787 "builted wiser than it knew," and more grandly. Let us pass the broader significance and vaster value of the ordinance, and look upon it simply as the act of legislation providing for the opening, development and government of the territory; we find it alike admirable and effective. It provided for successive forms of territorial government, and upon it were based all the territorial enactments and much of the subsequent state legislation. It was so constructed as to give the utmost encouragement to immigration, and it offered the utmost protection to those who became settlers, for "when they came into the wilderness," says Justice Chase, "they found the law already there. It was impressed upon the soil, while as yet it bore up nothing but the forest."

The authorship of the ordinance of 1787 has been variously ascribed to Nathan Dane, a congressman from Massachusetts, to Rufus King, of the same state, and to Thomas Jefferson; and arguments more or less weighty, have from time to time, been advanced to support their claims or those of their friends. Thomas Jefferson was, however, identified with the ordinance of 1784,

which introduced the clause prohibiting slavery after the year 1800, which did not pass. Mr. King was undoubtedly the author of the anti-slavery clause in an ordinance which secured some attention in 1785, but he was not even a member of congress of 1787. Mr. Dane's claim is combatted chiefly on the ground that it was never made while any of the other men, who, from their position, were supposed to know about the formation of the ordinance, were alive, and on the ground that he had none of those graces of composition which are exhibited in the ordinance. Of later years investigation has convinced many prominent writers on the subject that Dr. Manassah Cutler, embodying the views of Thomas Jefferson with his own, was the real author. The evidence is too lengthy to introduce here, but it has not been refuted, and the supposition accords with very well with the known facts of history. Dr. Cutler had come before congress to purchase for a company, composed chiefly of Massachusetts men, a large body of public lands. The purchase would have been almost entirely worthless in the opinion of most of the Ohio company associates, if they could not have the lands to which they proposed to emigrate covered with the law to which they had been accustomed. The ordinance of freedom was, as an act of legislation, the natural predecessor of the sale of the Ohio company. It was considered by congress, after the plan had been fully examined, very desirable that the public domains should be disposed of, and that a colony should be established in the federal territory. Such a colony would form a barrier against the British and Indians, it was argued, and this initiative step would be followed speedily by other purchases in which additional settlements would be founded. The southern states had a greater interest in the west than New England had, and Virginia especially, from her past protection, future prospects and geographical location, was especially eager for the development of the country beyond the Ohio. Virginia and the south in general may have justly regarded the planting in the west of a colony of men whose patriotism was well known, a measure calculated to bind together the old and new parts of the nation, and promote union. It was presumable that much was said by Dr. Cutler upon these advantages, and it was their importance which led the southern members to favor the measure and procure the enactment of such an ordinance.

In May, 1785, congress passed an ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of these lands. Under that ordinance, the first seven ranges, bounded on the east by Pennsylvania and on the south by the Ohio river, were surveyed. Sales of parts of these were made at New York in 1787, the avails of which amounted to \$72,974, and other sales of the same were made at Pittsburg and Philadelphia in 1796, the aggregate of these latter

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sales amounting to \$48,566. A portion of these lands were located under United States military land warrants. No further sales were made in that district until the land office was opened at Steubenville, July 1, 1801. On the 27th of October, 1787, a contract was entered into between the Board of Treasury of the United States and the New England Ohio Company of Associates for the purchase of a tract of land bounded by the Ohio from the mouth of the Scioto to the western boundary of the survey just mentioned; thence by a line north to the northern boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio river; thence by a due west line to the Scioto, and down the river to its mouth, the point of starting. The bounds of that contract were altered in 1792 when the western boundary was set further to the east. The settlement of this purchase commenced at Marietta, in the spring of 1788, was the first permanent one formed within the limits of Ohio. An attempt at settlement had been made, however, in April, 1785, at the mouth of the Scioto, on the site of Portsmouth, by four families from Redstone, Penn., but the hostility of the Indians compelled its abandonment.

The year in which Marietta was settled congress appointed Gen. Arthur St. Clair, an officer of the revolution, governor, and Winthrop Sargent, secretary. Soon after the territorial government was organized, sundry laws were adopted, and a proclamation of the governor the county of Washington, then extending westward to the Scioto, and northward to Lake Erie, and embracing about one-half of the present state, was formed.

A short time after the settlement of Marietta had commenced, an association was formed under the name of the Scioto Land company. A contract was made for the purchase of a part of the land included in the Ohio company's purchases. Plats and descriptions of the land contracted for were, however, made out, and Joel Barlow was sent as an agent to Europe to make sales of the lands for the benefit of the company, when sales were effected to companies and individuals in France. February 19, 1791, 218 of these purchasers left Havre, France, and arrived at Alexandria, D. C., on the 3d of May following. During their passage two were added to their number. On their arrival they were told that the Scioto company owned no land. The agent insisted that they did, and promised to secure to them good titles thereto, which he did at Winchester, Brownsville and Charleston (now Wellsburg). When they arrived at Marietta, about fifty of them landed. The rest of the company proceeded to Gallipolis, which was laid out about that time, and were assured by the agent that the place lay within their purchase. Every effort to secure titles to the lands they had purchased having failed, an application was made to congress, and in June, 1798, a grant was made to them of a tract of land on the Ohio, above

the mouth of the Scioto river, called the French grant, which contained 24,000 acres, and was in the southeast part of what is now called Scioto county.

Judge Cutler's Letter.—The annexed article respecting the Scioto company and its connection with the Ohio company, was written by Ephraim Cutler, of Washington county. Judge Cutler was the son of Rev. Dr. Manassah Cutler, who was the agent for the New England Ohio company, in making the contract with congress for their lands. His opportunities for accurate information upon this subject render his testimony of great historical value; it also explains the foregoing passage more fully.

"The Scioto Land company has been the subject of considerable mystery and the cause of much misrepresentation. I am not precisely informed concerning its origin. It was probably started during the negotiation of Dr. Cutler with the old congress in 1787, for the Ohio company's purchase. Dr. Cutler arrived in New York, July 5, and carried on his negotiations for a week; he was then absent another week on a visit to Philadelphia, where the convention that formed our federal constitution was sitting. On his return from New York the project for the Scioto company was broached to him by Col. William Duer, as appears by the following extract from the doctor's journal: 'Col. Duer came to me with proposals from a number of the principal characters in this city to extend our contract and take in another company.'

"The arrangements of Dr. Cutler with the government made room for another company. But this other association was entirely distinct from the Ohio company. Yet it has been represented that the Ohio company was concerned in the alleged wrongs toward the French emigrants of 1790, who were induced to come over in expectation of beneficial acquisitions of land in this quarter, by the agency of Joel Barlow. But this imputation is entirely groundless. What were the actual regulations and doings of the Scioto company previous to or connected with that agency I have never learned. Dr. Cutler contracted for a million and a half acres for the Ohio company. In connection with his negotiations the 'Board of Treasury' was empowered to sell all west of the seventh range up to the northwest corner of township 10 to the Scioto, and south to the Ohio. This would have included Zanesville and Columbus. It was estimated at 5,000,000 acres—much below the actual amount.

"The arrangements and objects of the Ohio company and the Scioto company are believed to have been very different. The aim of the Ohio company was actual settlement by shareholders. The lands obtained were ultimately to be allotted in shares, of which no one was to hold more than five shares.

"The object of the Scioto company seems to have been

solely and simply land speculation; to purchase of congress—nominally at two-thirds of a dollar per acre—paying mostly in continental money, at that time passing at an enormous discount, so that in fact the actual cost per acre might not be more than eight or ten cents, then to sell at prices which would yield them enormous profits.

"That any dishonest intention was entertained by Col. Duer or the other associates of the Scioto company, I have no belief. Dr. Cutler speaks of the association as comprising some of the first characters in America. Their object, no doubt, was to make large profits by the purchase and sale of public lands.

"It is understood that Joel Barlow was by them authorized to offer lands in France, and to invite French immigrants, but of his authority or instructions we have no specific information. In this matter the Ohio company had as little concern as in the South Sea bubble.

"But the splendid project of the Scioto company was blighted. Probably they expected to purchase public securities to pay for their purchase of congress at the excessively low rates on 1787. But the adoption of the Federal constitution and the successful establishment of the Federal government under Washington and his co-patriots, raised the credit of their securities and blasted the hopes of speculation. Meantime the French immigrants were coming. The Scioto purchase was not effected, and where should these immigrants go?

"Certain persons who styled themselves 'trustees to the proprietors of the Scioto lands' applied to Gen. Rufus Putnam and Dr. Manassah Cutler, two of the directors of the Ohio company, for the purchase of certain interests in this company. The persons who thus styled themselves 'trustees' were William Duer, Royal Flint and Andrew Cragie. They bargained with Gen. Putnam and Dr. Cutler for 148 forfeited shares in the Ohio company. The eight, three and 160 acre lots and the town lots had been already allotted and drawn. The undrawn portions—equal to 100,262 and 640 acres to each share—were to be located in a body, in the southwest corner of the purchase, viz.: Townships 1, 2 and 3, in range 14; townships 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, in range 15; townships 1, 2 and 3, in range 16; townships 1, 2, 3 and 4, in range 17; and so much of south of township 4, range 16, and township 5 in range 17, as would make up in all, 196,544 acres in this compact body.

"This contract was ratified by the Ohio company. The lands for the French settlement of Gallipolis (which is in the fourteenth range), were located and occupied, I suppose, in consequence of this arrangement. Gen. Putnam, as agent for Duer & Co., provided, at some \$2,000 expense, for the accommodation of the French immigrants there, and by the failure of Duer & Co. had to lose most or all of it.

"The Scioto company not only failed in securing the large purchase contemplated, but did not succeed in obtaining the interest for which they stipulated in the lands of the Ohio company. They did not pay, and the contract with Putnam and Cutler became a nullity. All that was required by the contract was that the Scioto company associates should pay as much proportionally as the Ohio company were to pay congress, and relinquish to the Ohio company the pre-emption right which the Scioto company was understood to have, in reference to lands lying north of the Ohio company's location. All was failure on the part of the Scioto company. The French immigrants were planted at Gallipolis, and Gen. Putnam was left to pay some \$2,000 expended in behalf of the Scioto company.

"It is rather surprising that any complaint should have been made against the Ohio company for selling the lands in and about Gallipolis to the French for \$1.25 per acre. It was, in truth an act of favor and courtesy in deference to the misfortunes of the French. The Ohio company was under no obligation to them. They had no agency in inviting or deceiving them. How much blame there was in the case, and to whom it belonged, we are not now able to decide. Barlow was poetic, but we know not that he was intentionally false. Most probably the immigrants were greatly beguiled by their own vivid imaginations. We may well enough suppose there was more poetry than truth in the whole concern."

CHAPTER XXI.

FORT HARMAR.



HIS fort was erected on the right bank of the Muskingum river, at its junction with the Ohio, by a detachment of the United States troops under the command of Maj. John Doughty, in the autumn of the year 1785. It was not completed until the following year. The position was judiciously chosen, as it commanded not only the mouth of the Muskingum, but swept the waters of the Ohio from a curve in the river for a considerable distance, both above and below the fort. It was the first military post built within the limits of the present state of Ohio, with the exception of Ft. Laurens, which was erected in the year 1778, on the right bank of the Tuscarawas, a little below Sandy Creek, by Gen. McIntosh, in the heart of the Indian country, and evacuated in the autumn of the following year. The fort stood on what is called the "second bottom," being elevated above the ordinary floods of the Ohio, while between it and the banks of the rivers was a lower or first bottom, depressed about six feet, on to which the descent was by a gradual natural slope. This regular glacis was continued for a quarter of a mile up the Muskingum, and for a considerable distance below on the Ohio, adding greatly to the natural beauty of the spot. The outlines of the fort formed a pentagon, and the area, embraced within its walls, contained about three-quarters of an acre. The curtain or main walls of the fort were constructed of large timbers, placed horizontally, raised to the height of twelve or fourteen feet, and were 120 feet in length. The bastions were constructed of large timbers set upright in the ground, fourteen feet in height, fastened together by strips of timber treenailed into each picket. The outlines of these were also pentagonal; the fifth side or that opening into the area of the fort being occupied by the dwelling houses or quarters of the officers, as may be seen by looking at the sketch of the garrison accompanying this article.

The barracks or quarters for the soldiers were erected along the sides of the curtains with their roofs sloping into the fort. They were divided into four rooms of thirty feet each, with comfortable fire-places, and afforded ample space for a regiment of men. Commodious buildings of hewed logs were erected in the bastions for the officers; these were two stories in height with two

rooms on a floor, and fire-places at each end. The large house in the southeast bastion appears to have been used for a store house. From the roof of the barrack which stood in the curtain facing the Ohio river, there arose a square tower like a cupola, surmounted by a flag staff, in which was stationed a sentinel; the room beneath was the guard house. An arsenal built of large logs and covered with earth stood in the area near the guard house, and answered as a "boom-proof," or magazine for the protection of their powder. The main gate was next the river, with a sally port on the side toward the hills, which rose abruptly from the level grounds at a distance of a quarter of a mile. Near the center of the fort was dug a well for the supply of the garrison with water in case of a siege, although for ordinary uses it was brought from the river. In the rear of the garrison on the ground which had supplied the materials for building the fort, Major Doughty had laid out fine gardens; these were cultivated by the soldiers, and in the virgin soil of the Ohio, produced an abundant crop of culinary vegetables for the use of the troops. To the bravery and pride of a fine soldier, the major also possessed a refined taste for horticulture. Peaches were planted out as soon as the ground was cleared, and in the second or third year produced crops of fine fruit. A variety of his is still cultivated around Marietta, and known as the "Doughty peach."

Fort Harmar was so named in honor of Col. Joseph Harmar, to whose regiment Maj. Doughty was attached. It continued to be occupied by the troops of the United States, until September, 1790, when they were ordered down to Ft. Washington, now Cincinnati. A company under the command of Capt. Haskel, continued to make the fort their headquarters during the Indian wars; sending out detachments of six or eight men, at regular intervals, to assist the colonists at Marietta, Belpre and Waterford in guarding their garrisons against the Indians. The barracks and officers' houses not needed for the accommodation of the troops, were occupied by the inhabitants living on the west side of the Muskingum river. The house in the southwest bastion was owned by Maj. Doughty, who made a present of it to the late Hon. Paul Fearing, then a young lawyer to whom he was much attached. Mr. Fearing occupied it during the war and for two or three years after. The fort was a great convenience to the new settlers, affording them comfortable dwellings as well as a sure protection against the Indians. It does not appear that any regular batteries were built within the walls for the mounting of cannon, as it was in no danger of any attack from the enemies who had the use of the cannon. One of two six-pound field pieces were mounted on carriages, and usually kept on the bank just without the walls; with these they could command the boats on the river.

As a post to awe and keep the hostile savages in check, the location was a very judicious one. Between the walls of the fort and the bank of the river, directly opposite to the bank of the Muskingum, there was sufficient space to muster a battalion of men; a part of this ground was occupied by three stout log buildings erected for the use of the artificers attached to the garrison. The river has made sad inroads on the site of the old fort. At this day not only the whole ground between it and the water is washed away, but also more than half of the site occupied by the fort, so that the stone wall of the well, which was near the center, is now seen projecting from the upright face of the bank. This continual crumbling of the banks has widened the mouth of the Muskingum river so much, that during the summer months a dry sand-bar or island occupies the spot that used to be ten or twelve feet in depth. Before any clearings were made the huge sycamores, as they reclined over the water on the opposite shores, narrowed the mouth of the river so much, that a person passing hastily by in the middle of the Ohio, would hardly notice its outlet, so darkly was it enshrouded by these giants of the forest. The hand of cultivation has greatly damaged the permanency and marred the beauty of the river banks of the Ohio, by cutting away the trees. The roots acted as so many ligatures, and fillets of net-work on protecting the earth from the wash of the waters, while their graceful trunks and drooping branches served to beautify the shores of the Bel-riviere. In digging away the bank in 1840 to form a landing or road up from the river on to the site of the old fort, several interesting relics were found which once belonged to the inmates of the garrison. Amongst them were two or three copper coins of the earliest emission of the United States, shoe buckles, buttons, spoons, knives and forks, with a number of four and six pound shots; some of these articles are now in the possession of the writer. Although no attack was ever made on the fort by the Indians, yet they often appeared on the hill in its rear, which commanded a full view of its interior. From this elevation they often watched the movements of the inhabitants as they went out to work in their gardens and adjoining fields and several were killed within gunshot of the garrison. Of these tragical events, no one possesses more interest than that in which the Hon. R. J. Meigs, late governor of Ohio, was engaged. It is as follows:

Border Incident — Gov. Meigs in Great Danger.—During the continuance of the Indian war, from 1790 to 1795, it was customary for all inmates of all the garrisons to cultivate considerable fields of Indian corn and other vegetables near the walls of their defenses. Although hazardous in the extreme, it was preferable to starvation. For a part of that time no provisions could be obtained

from the older settlers above, on the Monongahela and Ohio; sometimes from a scarcity among themselves and always at great hazard from Indians, who watched the river for the capture of boats. Another reason was the want of money, many of the earlier settlers having expended a large share of their funds in the journey on, and for the purchase of lands, while others had not a single dollar; so that necessity compelled them to plant their fields. The war having commenced so soon after their arrival, and at a time when not expected, as a formal treaty was made with them at Marietta in January, 1789, which by the way was only a piece of Indian diplomacy. They never intended to abide by it any longer than suited their convenience, and no stores being laid up for the siege, they were taken entirely unprepared. So desperate were their circumstances at one period that serious thoughts of abandoning the country were entertained by many of the leading men. Under these circumstances Mr. Meigs, then a young lawyer, was forced to lay aside the gown and assume the use of both the sword and the plow. It is true that but little plowing was done, as much of the corn was then raised by planting the virgin soil with a hoe amongst the stumps and logs of the clearing, after burning off the brush and light stuff. In this way large crops were invariably produced; so that nearly all the implements needed were the axe and the hoe. It so happened that Mr. Meigs, whose residence was in Campus Martius, the garrison of the east side of the Muskingum river, had planted a field of corn on the west side of that stream in the vicinity of Fort Harmar. To reach this field the river was to be crossed near his residence in a canoe, and the space between the landing and his crop, a distance of about a half a half, to be passed by an obscure path through a thick wood.

Early in June, 1792, Mr. Meigs, having completed the labor of the day a little before night, set out on his return home in company with Joseph Symonds and a colored boy whom he had brought with him as a servant from Connecticut. Immediately on leaving the field they entered the forest through which they had to pass before reaching the canoe. Symonds and the boy were unarmed, Mr. Meigs carried a small shot gun, which he had taken with him for the purpose of shooting a turkey, which at that day abounded to an extent which would hardly be credited at this time. Flocks of several hundred were not uncommon and of a size and fatness that would excite the admiration of an epicure of any period of the world, even of Apicius himself. Meeting, however, with no turkeys, he had discharged his gun at a large snake which crossed his path. They had now arrived within a few rods of the landing, when two Indians, who

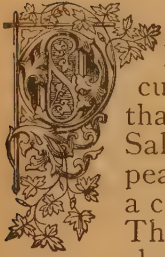
had for some time been watching their movements and heard the discharge of the gun, sprang into the path behind them, fired and shot Symonds through the shoulder. He, being an excellent swimmer rushed down the bank and into the Muskingum river; where turning on his back he was enabled to support himself on the surface until he floated down near Fort Harmar, where he was taken up by a canoe. His wound, although a dangerous one was healed, and I knew him twenty years afterwards. The black boy followed Symonds into the river as far as he could wade, but being no swimmer was unable to get out of reach of the Indian who pursued them, but was siezed and dragged on shore. The Indian who had captured him was desirous of making him a prisoner, which he as obstinately refused and made so much resistance that he finally tomahawked and scalped him near the edge of the river. To this alternative he was in a manner compelled, rather than loose both prisoners and scalp, as the rangers and men at Campus Martius had commenced firing at him from the opposite shore. The first shot was fired by a spirited black man in the service of commodore Abraham Whipple, who was employed near the river at the time. From some accident it seems that only one of the Indians was armed with a rifle while the other had a tomahawk and knife. After Symonds was shot Mr. Meigs immediately faced about in order to retreat to Fort Harmar. The savage armed with the rifle, had placed himself in the path, intending to cut off his escape, but had no time to reload it before his intended victim clubbed his gun and rushed upon his antagonist. As he passed Mr. Meigs aimed a blow at his head which the Indian returned with his rifle. From the rapidity of the movement neither of them were seriously injured, although it staggered each considerably, yet neither fell to the ground. Instantly recovering from the shock he pursued his course to the fort with the Indian close at his heels. Mr. Meigs was in the vigor of early manhood, and had, by frequent practice in the race, become a very swift runner. His foeman was also very fleet and amongst the most active of their warriors, as none but such were sent into the settlements on marauding excursions. The race continued for sixty or eighty rods with little advantage on either side, when Mr. Meigs gradually increased his distance ahead, and leaping across a deep run that traversed the path, the Indian stopped on the brink, threw his tomahawk and gave up the pursuit with one of those fierce yells which rage and disappointment served to sharpen. It was distinctly heard at both the forts. About eight years since an Indian tomahawk was plowed up near this very spot, and was most probably the one thrown at Mr. Meigs, as the rescue and pursuit from Fort Harmar was so im-

mediate upon hearing the alarm that he had no time to recover it. With the scalp of the poor black boy, the Indians ascended the abrupt side of the hill which overlooked the garrison, and, shouting defiance to their foes, escaped to the forest. The excitement was very great at the garrison and taught the inmates a useful lesson: that of being better armed and more on their guard when they went out on their agricultural pursuits. Had Mr. Meigs tried any other expedient than that of facing his enemy and rushing instantly upon him, he must inevitably have lost his life, as the Indian was well aware of his gun being unloaded. On his right was the river, on his left a very steep and high hill; beyond him the pathless forest, and between him and the fort his Indian foe. To this sudden and unexpected attack, to his dauntless and intrepid manner, and to his activity, he undoubtedly owed his life.



CHAPTER XXII.

THE LEATHERWOOD GOD.



NE of the most remarkable frenzies that has occurred among religious people of the Ohio valley was that led by Joseph C. Dylks. In the summer of 1828, at Salesville, Guernsey county, Ohio, there suddenly appeared in the midst of an excited religious audience at a camp meeting a stranger of unusual dress and mein. The meeting was being held by the United Brethren church and during an impassioned sermon by the Rev. John Crum, who was then presiding elder of the Leatherwood circuit, the cry of "Salvation" startled not only the audience but the minister. It was uttered in such stentorian voice and followed by a sound so unusual as to cause a tremor of fright and almost terror to pass through the entire assemblage. This was the introduction of the famous "Leatherwood God" to a community in which he was destined to act so conspicuous a part. The circumstances surrounding his advent were indeed weird, as no one saw him come into the gathering, nor had any one present ever seen him before. Penetrating inquiries were made but no person ever appeared to tell of the manner in which he came. The dress and personal aspect of Dylks were such as to magnify the amazement of the people concerning him. He was of medium height, a little heavy about the shoulders but tapering proportionately to the feet. His fair, pale face was set off by the long black hair which hung over his shoulders, falling in glossy strands to the middle of his back. He was dressed, too, in clothes far superior to those worn at the time and in his black broad-cloth suit, and yellow beaver hat, he appeared to be a man of about forty-five or fifty years of age. At the termination of the services, many sought to meet Mr. Dylks, and while he seemed pleased to meet them, he never failed to sustain his grave deportment. He was invited to the houses of the citizens, stopped at them for days at a time and took delight in going from one place to another. He nightly attended the services and frequently gave his shout and snort. Excited as the people were, his actions greatly impressed them and thus afforded him the chance to proclaim himself a heavenly being. For some time after his appearance he made no profession of his power, conducted himself as best befitted the occasion and zealously

united in the services. At times he led in the meetings and at these times he claimed to be a teacher. In his public worship he used but one hymn "Plunged in a gulf of dark despair, we wretched sinners lay." His prayers were short, his teaching of the Bible was clear and he seemed to be a master of that book, quoting it correctly to make plain his expositions. All this time he was secretly telling certain members of the church he was a spiritual body, could perform miracles and appear and disappear as was his pleasure. He finally declared that he was the Messiah, that he should live always and that those who believed in him would never die, but should exist forever in their natural bodies. He claimed that with one shout and one snort he could vanquish the universe. Prominent members of the church, among whom — were Michael Brill, Robert McCormick and John Brill believed implicitly in what he taught them and he in turn called them his disciples giving the name of "Paul" to McCormick, "Peter" to a Rev. Davis and "Silas" to Michael Brill. Some weeks after this, as the pastor serving in the circuit was ill, McCormick was asked to take his place and this he did with the understanding that Dylks should be his companion. The latter consented, and accordingly one morning they set off from the temple to preach to the several congregations south of that place. Mr. McCormick claimed that on his way there the face of Dylks took on a celestial look and his voice became exceedingly melodious. They went on their way stopping to pray at intervals and spent most of the night in songs of praise and prayer. They traveled in this manner until, as Dylks said "The perfect work is done," and claimed that he had bound the devil for a thousand years. They set out on their homeward journey, but after their return, Dylks never shouted salvation but simply snorted. When it was known that such men as McCormick and Brill believed the doctrines taught by the stranger, about one-half of the worshipers of the Temple forsook their faith to follow him, and so the former gathering was divided until the whole community was overpowered by the teachings, with the exception of two men, George Brill and James Foreacre by name, who stood firm in the faith of their lives. Night after night Dylks preached, telling the people that he was the God and the Christ united, and that salvation for men was only obtained through him. The commotion aroused by these exhortations was terrible; men shouted, women screamed, and all was religious uproar. The believers fell on their knees and worshiped him, while those who were disgusted by his actions, called for miracles and the acknowledged God was to be put to the test. He saw that it had become necessary for him to act, and promised to the people that he would make a seamless garment if the cloth was furnished him. A piece of goods was given him, and

a fool
 2 min

Helston
 Poore

the people flocked to see the sight; but Dylks came not and as the cloth did not become a garment, the faith in his miracles began to waver. At last the excitement became intense, and the unbelievers expressed various opinions as to his sanity, some claiming that he was trying to get money and others that he had been put up to act in this manner by McCormick, while the converts remained true to their new faith. The enemies of the new belief became tired of the boastings of Dylks and threatened to put a stop to them, so one night they organized a body for the arrest of the "celestial one." They found him leading a meeting and when they appeared on the scene the confusion was so great as to enable Dylks to slip into another room and hide. He was found out, however, one of his pursuers pulled him out of his corner by his hair and dragged him out of the house. He made no resistance, and as they did not yield to their first impulse, which was to hang him, they took him before Squire James Frame. The lawyer, after questioning him as to his pretensions, and hearing him claim to be God, remained silent for some minutes and solemnly said: "May the Lord have mercy on your soul." They then took him before 'Squire Omstot, of Washington, Ohio who was soon ready for business. A lawyer of some note happened to be in town and he and the 'Squire had a conference. The 'Squire then said: "In this country every one has a right to worship what God he pleases. With religious fanaticism our laws have nothing to do, unless it be pushed so far as to violate some of our public ordinances." He then told the people that the prisoner was not guilty of this offense and must therefore go acquitted. It seems that the opposing party were on the lookout and intended to grasp Dylks, but before the justice had ceased speaking the followers of Dylks gave him a signal, and in the confusion which followed he escaped to the woods, where he remained. The men who had refused to accept his teachings were on the lookout for him and at one time he was nearly apprehended. In some mysterious manner, though, he disappeared and vanished from their sight. Mr. McCormick and Michael Brill remained believers until their deaths. In all probability nothing further will ever be heard of Joseph C. Dylks and his followers, and the history of the "Leatherwood God" will remain as a legend of the religious events of the earlier part of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FIRST HOUSE OF WORSHIP IN OHIO.

T seems to be authoratively settled that the first house of worship was that built by the Columbia Baptist church. This society was constituted in 1790 by Dr. Stephen Gano. The old house of worship stood in the midst of a small cemetery, which in former years was the prevailing custom. Of it the first pastor was the man who was instrumental in founding the society and building the church. It is not to be presumed that because this was the first house of worship, that it was the first scene of religious exercises. The following poem was written by Major Daniel Gano, and published in the *American Pioneer* in 1842:

ON VISITING THE OLD CHURCH AT COLUMBIA.

Near where the Ohio winds its lovely way
Through plains with flowers and herbage richly gay,
High on a green, luxuriant, sloping sod,
In ruinous mantle clad, stands the lone House of God!

A strange sensation thrilled across my breast,
As its drear aisle my wand'ring footsteps prest,
Its sound alone disturbed the pensive scene,
That spoke what it was then, and told what it had been!

The pulpit mould'ring nodded from the wall,
From which methought still rang the watchman's call;
Some ancient seats in circles filled the space,
And seemed to say, "A choir has left this vacant place."

But 't is not so—here owls their vigils keep,
And driving winds in mournful murmurs sweep;
The bat rejoicing flits along the gloom;
All else is still, and calm, and tranquil as the tomb.

Where are those eyes that traced those sacred lines,
Where truth, where majesty and beauty shines?
Where are those hearts that have with fervor glowed,
When o'er Death's vale they viewed the Christian's blest abode?

Where is the choir that here so sweetly sang
The song of praise to God, and peace to man?
Methinks, returning through the lapse of years,
I hear their anthem notes soft stealing on my ears.

Deep in the grave, around this falling pile,
They sweetly sleep, forgetful of their toil;
Have fled, and left behind this loud appeal,
"All, all on earth must die — 't is Heaven's unchanging will!"

Then fare thee well! — perhaps my feet again
Shall never tread thy silent, bleak domain!
Yes, fare thee well! — for list'ning Solitude
Waits to resume her throne in dark and frowning mood.

Yet, may the hand of time long spare thy brow,
Though covered o'er with many a furrow now;
That generations yet to come may see
Some vestige left — some trace remaining still of thee.

Peace to the inmates that around thee sleep!
May angel bands their slumb'ring ashes keep,
Till Gabriel's trumpet rends the heaving clay,
And calls them forth to joys that never shall decay!



CHAPTER XXIV.

EXPEDITIONS TO KENTUCKY.



AMONG historians it seems to be admitted that the first white folks to visit what is now the state of Kentucky was in 1747 when Dr. Walker led an exploring expedition from the settled portion of Virginia via New river to the Big Sandy. This admission, though, seems to be, in some instances, but passively given, and it seems as though there is good ground for doubt upon this point. The French had explored the Ohio river in times undoubtedly much anterior to this, while the Mississippi and Wabash had both, long ere them, been frequented by that people. A permanent settlement was made at Vincennes on the Wabash river in 1712, and as this was but eighty miles by a navigable river from the shores of Kentucky, it does not seem an improbable supposition that the "dark and bloody ground" was visited by white men long before 1747. The French had been extremely successful with the Indians along the Wabash and in the adjacent country. Those Indians were in the habit of visiting the forests of Kentucky in quest of game and it is quite probable that they were often accompanied by the French.

Authorities differ as to the exact date of the expedition led by Dr. Walker. Opinion is divided between the years 1747 and 1748. Dr. Hale has given a succinct account of it in his work on page 49, of Volume I, History of the Great Kanawha Valley. From it the following is taken:

"A party of adventurous gentlemen, composed of Doctor Thomas Walker, Colonel James Patton, Colonel John Buchanan, Colonel James Wood and Major Charles Campbell, accompanied by some hunters, of whom John Findley, who afterward, in 1767, penetrated into Kentucky, and, in 1769, accompanied Daniel Boone from North Carolina to Kentucky, was one, made an excursion through southwest Virginia in 1748, and were the first white persons from this direction to penetrate the then unknown region of Kentucky. Dr. Walker, the leader of the expedition, discovered the pass in the mountains, and gave the name of "Cumberland" to the mountain range and gap hitherto called by the Indians "Wasioto"; "Cumberland river" to the stream hitherto called "Shawanee," or "Pelisipi"; and "Louisa" to the

river called by them "Che-no-ee," now Kentucky river. Major Jed Hotchkiss, who, has seen the MS. diary of Doctor Walker, thinks he did not get on to the Kentucky river, and that the stream he named Louisa was the one now called the Coal river, West Virginia, which heads up in the big Flat-Top mountain along which he traveled. The earliest maps that lay down Coal river—Jefferson's and others—call it Louisa.

"The Cumberland mountains, gap, and river, were named after the Duke of Cumberland, and Louisa river for his wife, the Duchess of Cumberland. Walker's creeks (big and little), of New river, which were explored by Dr. Walker and party on this expedition, and Walker's mountains (big and little), parallel ranges, were named after Dr. Walker. * *

"At this date (1748) the entire population of Virginia—which then extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi (or, as claimed, to the Pacific), and embraced the present states of Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin—was but 82,000. All but a few hundred of these were east of the Blue ridge; these few hundred were settled in the valley of Virginia, so-called, being the territory lying between the Blue ridge and the Allegheny ranges. The settlers in this valley of Virginia were mostly Scotch-Irish families, who had stopped for a time in Pennsylvania, and found their way from there into the valley of Virginia, by way of Harper's Ferry, taking up the best lands on the waters of the Shenandoah, the James, and the Roanoke rivers. * *

"The first map of this region to which I have had access, is a map of 1744, accompanying Rapin de Thoyers' history of England. This map shows pretty fair knowledge of the coast lines, but wild guesses, based upon small information about the country beyond the mountains. The Tennessee river called Hogohegee, empties in the Wabash or 'Ouback.' The head waters of the Hogohegee are left blank—cut square off. The Cumberland, called Pelisipi, empties into the Hogohegee. The Ohio or 'Hohio,' empties into the Ouback or Wabash on the north, and the Ouback unites with the Potomac in a lake common to both, lying south of Lake Erie, and from which they flow their respective ways east and west. The Allegheny mountain is laid down with a fair degree of accuracy as to location and direction. The next map of this part of Virginia was made by Peter Fontaine, surveyor of Halifax county, the request of the governor of Virginia, in 1752. In this map the Allegheny mountain is put down as 'Mississippi or Allegheny ridge.' New river is put down as 'New Riv., a branch of Mississippi Riv.,' and all the region west of the Allegheny is left blank, and called a mountainous tract of land west of the Blue ridge," "Augusta county," 'parts unknown.'"

The settlement on the Roanoke in Virginia, was destroyed in 1756 by a band of marauding Shawnees. To avenge this an expedition was ordered by Gov. Dinwiddie, and the campaign which followed became famous in the annals of early times as the "Sandy Creek Voyage." The expedition was composed of a company of regulars from Fort Dinwiddie, under the command of Capt. Audley Paul, a company of minute-men from Botetourt, under Capt. William Preston, and two companies from Augusta under Captains John Alexander and William Hogg. In Capt. Alexander's company was John McNutt, afterward governor of Nova Scotia. The entire company was placed under the command of Col. Andrew Lewis. The expedition had for its object besides the punishment of Indians, the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Big Sandy. This was expected to interrupt the communication between the Indians and the French at Gallipolis, as well as restrain the former from committing outrages on the settlements farther back. The account of this expedition is here given in the language of Withers in his "Border Warfare."

"The different companies detailed upon the Shawnee expedition were required to rendezvous on the Roanoke, near to the present town of Salem in Botetourt, where Col. Lewis was then posted. The company commanded by Capt. Hogg failed to attend at the appointed time, and Col. Lewis, after delaying a week for its arrival, marched forward, expecting to be speedily overtaken by it.

"To avoid an early discovery by the Indians, which would have been the consequence of their taking the more public route by the Great Kanawha, and that they might fall upon the Indian towns, in the valley of the Scioto, without being interrupted or seen by the French at Gallipolis, they took the route by the way of New river and Sandy. Crossing New river below the horse-shoe, they descended it to the mouth of Wolf creek, and ascending this to its source passed over to the head of Bluestone river, where they delayed another week, awaiting the arrival of Capt. Hogg and his company. They then marched to the head of the north fork of the Sandy, and continued down it to the head of the great Burning Spring, where they also remained a day. Here the salt and provisions which had been conveyed on pack horses, were entirely exhausted. Two buffaloes, killed just above the spring, were also eaten while the army continued here, and their hides were hung upon a beach tree. After this their subsistence was procured exclusively by hunting.

"The army then resumed its march, and in a few days after it was overtaken by a runner with the intelligence that Capt. Hogg and his company were only a day's march in the rear. Col. Lewis again halted and the day after he was overtaken by

Hogg, he was likewise overtaken by an express from Francis Fauquier, with orders for the army to return home, and for the disbanding of all the troops except Capt. Paul's regulars, who were to return to Fort Dinwiddie.

"This was one of the first of Gov. Fauquier's official acts, and it was far from endearing him to the inhabitants west of the Blue Ridge. They had the utmost confidence in the courage and good conduct of Col. Lewis, and the officers and men under his command; they did not for an instant doubt the success of the expedition, and looked forward with much satisfaction to their consequent exemption in a great degree, from future attacks from the Indians. It was not therefore without considerable regret, that they heard of their countermanding orders.

"Nor were they received by Lewis and his men with very different feelings. They had endured much during their march from the inclemency of the weather, more from the want of provisions. They had borne these hardships without repining, anticipating a chastisement of the Indians, and the deriving of an abundant supply of provisions from their conquered towns. They had arrived within ten miles of the Ohio river, and could not witness the blasting of their expectations without murmuring. A council of war was held, disappointment and indignation were expressed in every feature. A majority of the officers were in favor of proceeding to the Ohio river, under the expectation that they might fall in with some of the enemy; they marched to the river and encamped two nights on its banks. Discovering nothing of an enemy, they then turned to retract their steps through pathless mountains, a distance of 300 miles, in the midst of winter and without provisions.

"The reasons assigned by the friends of Gov. Fauquier for the issuing of these orders were, that the force detailed by Gov. Dinwiddie was not sufficient to render secure an establishment at the contemplated point, near the Indian towns on the Scioto, within a few days' journey of several thousand warriors on the Miami, in the vicinity of the hostile post at Gallipolis, and so remote from the settled part of Virginia that they could not be furnished with assistance and supplied with provisions and military stores without incurring an expenditure, both of blood and money, beyond what the colony could spare for the accomplishment of that object."

Another exploring expedition not usually given place in the histories of the early settlement in Kentucky, occurred in 1766. In that year Capt. James Smith, in company with Joshua Horton, Uriah Stone, William Baker and James Smith, from Pennsylvania, went via the settlement at Holston, to explore the country south of Kentucky. This they did and also traversed the country between the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers to

the Ohio. Stone's river which flows into the Cumberland a short distance above Nashville, was named by them in this expedition. Capt. Smith became a settler of Kentucky in 1781, locating in Bourbon county, near Paris. He became one of the most prominent men of the state during its early settlement and took an honorable part in the movement for the separation from Virginia.

In 1769, the same year that Daniel Boone and five others explored a portion of Kentucky, a party of forty men from the settlement on New Holston and Clinch rivers, formed an expedition to visit Kentucky, west of the Cumberland, for hunting. Nine of this party, under the lead of Col. James Knox, remained a considerable time, and for this reason became known as the "Long Hunters." They reached "the country south of the Kentucky river," and it is said penetrated the country as far as Green river and the lower part of the Cumberland.

When Daniel Boone and others returned from their expedition in 1769 the stories which they told regarding the country led others to seek a home in the distant wilderness. In 1773 six families and about forty men set out for the beautiful levels of Kentucky under the guidance of Boone. This party was attacked by the Indians with such vigor that the expedition was abandoned. The Indians were jealous of their hunting grounds in Kentucky and resisted long and stubbornly all attempts at its settlement.

While they were thus watching the country to prevent ingress from the southward others found their way hitherto from different directions.

The troops that had served in the Canadian war from Virginia had been promised a bounty in the western lands of the colony. Many who were anxious to learn the value of these lands and who wanted to determine upon location deemed the year 1773 a propitious time for this purpose. Comparative peace reigned throughout the entire valley of the Ohio, and no more favorable time had appeared for years in which to make surveys. Accordingly in the fall of the last named year, a considerable party of these old soldiers collected at what is now Pittsburg and descended the Ohio river to the falls of Louisville. From there they proceeded to explore the country with the expectation of completing the title of their grants. Withers, in his "Border Warfare," adds: "About the same time, too, Gen. Thompson, of Pennsylvania, commenced an extensive course of surveys of the rich land on the North Fork of Licking; and other individuals, following his example, in the ensuing winter the country swarmed with land adventurers and surveyors. So sensible were they all that these attempts to appropriate those

lands to their own use would produce acts of hostility, that they went prepared to resist those acts; and the first party who took up their abode in Kentucky, no sooner selected a situation for their residence, than they proceed to erect a fort for their security. This was done by a party of men from Monongahela under the guidance of James Harrod, by whom was built the first cabin for human habitancy in Kentucky. The conduct of the Indians soon convinced them that their apprehensions were not ill founded, and many of them, in consequence of the hostile movements which were being made, and the robberies that were being committed, ascended the Ohio river to Wheeling." After the battle of Point Pleasant and Lord Dunmore's campaign had rendered the border again secure, many soon turned their attention to Kentucky. Harrod's fort became the first center of settlement, but others at Boonesborough and St. Asaph's, near the village of Stamford, were soon established. The Indians for several years continued their usual mode of warfare on the these border outposts. In the spring of 1777 they made a long and protracted siege against these infant settlements, which continued into the summer and early fall. It was to relieve these places that Col. Bowman was sent with a considerable body of militia from the more thickly settled portions of Virginia. The arrival of Col. Bowman with his command was opportune, as many of the settlers in the forts had begun to despair of being able to hold out against the unrelenting foe. Col. Bowman succeeded in driving the Indians from that locality for a time and gave the people opportunity to rear and gather their crops for the coming winter.

CHAPTER XXV.

SEPARATION OF KENTUCKY.



DURING the early settlement of Kentucky and until the preliminary articles of peace of the Revolution, the people mostly resided in stations. Gen. George Rogers Clarke protected the infant settlement and directed its military affairs. Gen. Clarke brought with him but a small force from eastern Virginia, but had power to increase it in the western country. But independent of this, requisitions were made on the ordinary militia to go on short campaigns, called expeditions. It must be remembered that during this whole period the American states were in war with Britain for their liberty. The Indians were allies of Britain, and during the war were the enemies of America at large, but when peace was concluded affairs for the western people were rendered worse. The Indians of course had no pretensions to continue the war after their principal had made peace, but they could not understand how they could have been subdued in consequence of the Americans having obtained an advantage over the British in the east, while they were constantly conquering in the west. But not only was their military pride wounded, but their interests were vitally affected. They had never considered England the proprietor of their country, yet under the treaty America claimed it as ceded to them by Britain, and required the Indians to acknowledge their right. This claim caused great resentment and indignation among the Indians, and hence the termination of the general conflict was but a new era in the war between the Indians and the exposed frontiers of America. But the government, inattentive to these matters, and disregarding the consequences which must necessarily follow, withdrew all efficient military force from the district, leaving the people of Kentucky unprotected and defenseless.

This was the condition of the country prior to 1784. At this time Kentucky consisted of but three counties, viz.: Fayette, Jefferson and Lincoln. A little later Nelson county was formed. Col. Benjamin Logan held the first military appointment of the district. In this year intelligence was received that

the Indians were preparing for an invasion of Kentucky. Although the project was afterward abandoned, the information received by Col. Logan was sufficiently manacing to authorize vigorous measures. He therefore convened a number of citizens of the district at Danville, which was then the principal town of Kentucky, who agreed with him that an expedition seemed imperative, but they had no power to collect men, or arm or provision them, or, were this accomplished by voluntary services of militia, they had no assurance that the government would ever pay them for their services or reimburse their expenditures.

At this crisis the citizens convened at Danville, and recommended the people to elect one representative from each militia in the district to meet the ensuing month at that place to consider the best means of protecting their country.

Accordingly elections were held and the members thus convened, after deliberating on the state of the country for a while, decided that many of the inconveniences under which they labored could be relieved by the legislature of Virginia, but that the greatest evils arose from causes beyond the control of that body, viz.: From the remote and detached situation, and could never be redressed until the district had a government of its own. The constitution of Virginia had made provision for the erection of one or more governments in the western territory when occasion might require. Elections were held in April, and the members thus chosen met in convention on the 23d of May following (1785), and on the ninth day of their deliberations unanimously resolved that a petition ought to be presented to congress setting forth the disadvantages under which the people labored, and a request that they be made an independent state. All possible means were taken to fully inform the people as to the proceedings of this convention. In furtherance of this object another election was held in July for a convention to meet in August to reconsider a separation from the parent state. This body unanimously decided on the propriety of a separation from Virginia, and a memorial on the subject to the assembly of Virginia was drafted and agreed to and Hon. George Muler, the chief justice of the district, Harry Innes, then attorney general of district, were chosen to wait on the assembly with it.

During the year 1785 frequent intelligence was received of hostile designs of the Indians, but they were not actually troublesome. The commissioner appointed to present the memorial of the convention to the Virginia assembly, attended at Richmond in November, and secured the passage of the "act concerning the erection of Kentucky into an independent state." This act authorized the people of the district to elect representatives in August, 1786, to compose a convention to be held at

Danville on the fourth Monday in September according to the propositions therein specified; and as soon as two-thirds of the members elected should convene they were directed to determine by a majority of votes if it be expedient for and the will of the good people of said district that the same be erected into a separate state according to the conditions of the act.

In the spring of the year 1786 the Indians north of the Ohio became troublesome to Kentucky. Representations were made to the executive of Virginia, who answered publicly that he had addressed congress on the business and urged the adoption of measures for the protection of Kentucky. But in a private letter to the county lieutenant of Lincoln, Col. Benjamin Logan, he said that congress had paid no attention to his representations, and in consequence gave him some general directions. Under those instructions two expeditions were carried against the Indians. One against the Wabash tribes, by Gen. Clarke, and one against the Shwanees, by Col. Logan.

According to the "act of separation" elections were held in August, and the members convened on the appointed day at Danville; but owing to many having gone with the two armies, a sufficient number could not be obtained. On the 26th of September the members formed themselves into a committee and prepared a memorial to the legislature of Virginia, showing why they could not proceed with business, and appointed John Marshall to present it. In order to prevent extinction of the powers delegated to the convention, the members continued to meet regularly, and adjourned from day to day until January, 1787, when the armies having returned, a quorum was had and the convention proceeded to business and determined "That it was expedient for and the will of the good people of the district to separate from the state of Virginia and become an independent state."

But at this stage of the proceedings a letter was received by the president of the convention from a member of the assembly inclosing an act repealing the law under which the convention was acting, and authorizing the people to elect another convention to be held in September, 1787. The reasons assigned for the measure were: First, insufficient time for the legislature to consider a matter so important. Secondly, that twelve months had been given for purposes which could not be complied with in that time. Thirdly, that the people of the district were represented as being much divided respecting the propriety of a separation.

Hitherto all deliberations were conducted quietly and carefully, but this act caused great discontent, for the people saw the separation, on which their peace, perhaps their lives, depended, put off as far as before, and had no assurance that the legislature

that had repealed the former law might in the same stage of proceedings repeal the present, for reasons equally poor. But while the separation was indefinitely postponed, the evils and necessities which had suggested it were still present and increasing.

Sometime in March, 1787, a communication was made from a corresponding committee in Pennsylvania to the people of Kentucky, informing them that John Jay, the American minister for foreign affairs, had made a proposition to Don Gardogüe to cede the navigation of the Mississippi to Spain for twenty-five or thirty years, in return for some commercial advantages to be obtained for the United States. This was regarded as being very detrimental to the interests of the western states, by the people of Kentucky and they resolved to act upon the matter at once. They therefore elected a committee to spread the news to the people and advise them to elect five representatives from each county to meet in the following May.

Some members met but adjourned without adopting any measures because they learned that Virginia was protesting.

It might be interesting here to give a little attention to the origin of the negotiation relative to the cession of the Mississippi.

After the declaration of American independence, application was made to the court of Spain to acknowledge the United States as an independent nation, but foreseeing that the independence of those states would be prejudicial to her own colonies in this country, she refused. At a certain time of the war when the southern states were overrun by the British, and incapable of making any resistance, the finances of the government exhausted and France weary of the war, it was proposed that if the Mississippi was relinquished to Spain, it might remove her jealousies, cause her to acknowledge our independence and form the basis of a treaty upon which we might rely for assistance.

Under these circumstances the legislature of Virginia passed a resolution recommending it, and congress authorized the foreign minister to make such a cession on the condition that Spain would acknowledge our independence and exert herself in support of it, but no such treaty was ever made.

Nor did Spain ever acknowledge our independence until after the war closed. As soon as the war terminated the power to make such a treaty was revoked. Sometime after this Spain sent her minister to the United States to have her boundaries and ours settled according to treaty, but claiming now in her own right the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, and by extension of the western boundary of Florida northward about half of Georgia and a part of Kentucky.

John Jay, the then minister of foreign affairs, was authorized to make a treaty settling these questions, but with the restriction

of not relinquishing the Mississippi on any consideration whatever.

After ten months of negotiation Jay wrote to congress that difficulties had arisen which could be managed only by keeping their existence a secret, and asked that a committee be appointed to instruct him. Instead he was called before congress, and it was found that instead of confining himself to the land boundaries he had been sent to settle, he had been planning a commercial treaty which he urged congress to adopt. Spain was to grant the United States some commercial privileges, and in return to receive the relinquishment of the Mississippi for twenty-five or thirty years. Seven states voted for the proposition, but nine were necessary; finally the matter was so arranged that the minister was authorized to make the treaty. Fortunately, about this time the adoption of the present Federal constitution was so engrossing the public mind that all minor things were forgotten, and the treaty was delayed in consequence and ultimately abandoned. All this, however, was but a portion of the troubles of Kentucky.

In the spring of this year the Indians again infested and seemed likely to overrun the entire country. Congress was repeatedly urged by the executive of Virginia to send assistance, but as repeatedly refused, and without assigning any reason for such a measure, disbanded the army that had apparently been raised for that purpose. And the executive of Virginia now censured Gen. Clarke and Col. Logan for the expeditions mentioned before, after having recommended them himself. To render the situation still more distressing, the Cherokees who had entered into a treaty with congress in 1785, now began hostilities.

The danger from the Indians now increasing, and the efforts of the people to repel and subdue them, and protect their homes and their lives, were rendered so useless by the restrictions of the executive of Virginia and the government of the United States, that the melancholy experiences of the Kentuckians were multiplied and they resolved once more to seek a separation from the parent state. They therefore proceeded under the second act of separation to elect members of a convention to once more decide on the advisability of a separation. A majority of the members met and decided that it was for the good of the people to be erected into an independent state.

This resolution, together with an address requesting the admission as an independent state into the Union, was sent to congress, and another resolution fixing the 31st of September as the period when the authority of Virginia over the proposed state should terminate. Copies of the resolutions were forwarded to the executive of Virginia to be laid by him before the assem-

bly. That nothing might be wanting to insure its success, the president of the convention was directed to address the representatives of the district to the assembly, requesting that an inhabitant of the district might be sent as a delegate to congress.

As the assent of Virginia had twice been obtained for the measure and every precaution had been taken to impress its reasonableness and necessity upon congress, the convention felt sure of the assent of this body, and therefore recommended an election of representatives in April, to meet the following fourth Monday in July to form a constitution for the proposed state.

The legislature of Virginia desiring to manifest a disposition to accelerate the separation, at their November session, 1787, elected John Brown, Esq., then a senator in the state legislature for the district of Kentucky, a representative to congress.

The address of the convention was presented to congress February 29, 1788, and referred to a committee on the whole. On the second day of June the committee reported favorably for the separation, and thereupon a committee was appointed of one man from each state to prepare and report an act on the subject.

This committee deferred reporting until June 2, then on their own request were discharged without having done anything. On the day following their discharge Mr. Brown made a motion that congress ratify the compact entered into by Virginia and Kentucky, and that that district be admitted into the Union as an independent state on January 1, 1789. The application was finally defeated and intelligence of it received on the day, the fourth Monday in July, when the members elected to the convention had met at Danville to form a constitution for the new state.

The mortification and chagrin produced by this disappointment was intense. This unforeseen disaster involved the members of the convention in difficulties, but they resolved to recommend to the people to elect five members from each county the ensuing October, to meet at Danville on the first Monday in November following, and delegate to those representatives full power to take such measures for obtaining admission to the Union as an independent state, and the navigation of the Mississippi, and also to form a constitution of government for the district to be adopted when it became necessary, and to take such steps in any matter as might be deemed best for the promotion of their interests. That the measure might be fully known, the printer of the *Kentucky Gazette* published the resolution until the 1st day of October, and to prevent surprise, the persons conducting the elections were requested to keep the polls open five days, and the resolutions to be read every day previous to the opening of the polls.

In this year both the northern and southern boundaries of

Kentucky were infested by the Indians, and whilst the citizens were falling victims to the scalping knife and tomahawk, murdered on the roads to interior countries, on their farms and in their homes, and could obtain no protection from their government, congress resolved to protect the Cherokees. The feelings this excited can scarcely be conceived, but it afforded additional inducement to effect a separation.

The election before mentioned was held and a convention met in Danville on the first Monday in November, invested with the extensive powers above stated. Many things were considered, and on the last day an address to the Virginia assembly was agreed to, signed, attested and forwarded to that body.

The calamities anticipated by delaying the separation were soon realized by sad experience. Virginia had hitherto exhibited a disposition to separate from the districts on terms honorable to both, but now her temper changed. She amended the act so as to make Kentucky assume part of the domestic debt, and by reversing a right to unappropriated lands, after the district was made an independent state.

The act authorized elections to again be held to consider the expediency of a separation and the following convention resolved that the terms now proposed by Virginia were inadmissible, and that a memorial should be presented to general assembly to require the necessary amendments.

But another consequence of the delay was more alarming still. Heretofore the executive of Virginia had authorized the lieutenants of the countries to call into service, scouts and rangers to give the people intelligence of an attack as soon as possible. This promised to be a very effective measure, but now the executive ordered the lieutenants to discharge these scouts, and in case of future depredations to communicate with the continental officer nearest the place of attack. This was no slight cause for alarm. The frontier to be defended consisted of more than 600 miles, and the regular troops, from the smallness of their number and the manner in which they were stationed, could afford no efficient protection. The troops were all stationed beyond the extreme limit of the northern boundary of the district, and owing to their great distance from the settled part of Kentucky, and the withdrawal of the scouts and rangers the citizens could all be murdered before a communication be made to the continental officer.

This was the objection Kentucky had to this system of protection, and the convention convinced that no aid could be derived from it, appointed a standing committee to draw up an address to the executive of Virginia remonstrating against the discharge of scouts and rangers; also an address to the president

of the United States stating the defenseless situation and the impracticability of the mode of protection, and report at the next convention.

At the next session of the Virginia assembly in October, the separation act was reconsidered, and on December 18th formed a new act cutting off the offensive clauses, and recommending for the fifth time an election of a convention to determine whether it was the will of the people and expedient to separate.

If it were decided in the affirmative, then on a day after the 1st of November, 1791, they were authorized to fix a time on which the authority of Virginia was to cease, provided the general government assented; and on a time after the 1st of November, and before the date fixed for the termination of the authority of Virginia, a convention was to be held to form a constitution. Elections were accordingly held and the representatives thus chosen met at Danville on the 26th of July, 1790, and on the third day decided on the expediency of a separation on the terms now offered by Virginia. They then prepared an address to congress informing it of the measure adopted. Confident of now being admitted to the Union, they again proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for electing representatives for a convention. Danville was fixed as the place of meeting on the first Monday in December, 1792, and the first of June following, as the date when the new state should begin her political existence.

The application of the convention to admit Kentucky to become an independent state, met with the approbation of congress, and by an act dated February 4, 1791, it was declared that on the first day of June, 1792, the said new state should be admitted to the Union, by the name of the state of Kentucky. In the month of December elections were held, and the representatives met at Danville on the first Monday of April, and framed a constitution under which the new state began her operations on the first day of June following, at Lexington.

Butler in his *History of Kentucky* gives the following account of the organization of the new state government:

"On the fourth of June the governor and legislature assembled at Lexington; Isaac Shelby having been chosen for the former high office by the college of electors, and Alexander S. Bulitt and Robert Breckenridge, both of Jefferson county, were selected as speakers of the two houses; the former of the senate, the latter of the house of representatives. On the sixth, Gov. Shelby met the legislature in person, as was then usual, in imitation of the ancient practice of the British kings, as well as of the colonial governors. A mode of communication, which, however calculated it may be for the display and parade suited to a bril-

liant monarchy, is most unfit for the business intercourse of a simple and practical government. Under this method the interests of the public were prematurely agitated in replies often surprising and committing the legislative bodies to the approbation of measures, before they could well be understood, or fairly have come before the minds of the representatives. It was well changed under the presidency of Thomas Jefferson for the mode of intercourse by message, the same which had been practiced at all times, upon the business of the current session. In this first communication of a governor of Kentucky, the importance of establishing both private and public credit was represented, as the most efficient means of promoting the prosperity of the rising commonwealth. To secure the first, a speedy and impartial administration of justice was recommended; and a scrupulous adherence to all public engagements for the second. Next in importance to this fundamental policy of all well regulated states, that of adjusting land titles was represented as the most entitled to the earliest regards of the legislature. In organizing the government, James Brown, the brother of John Brown, the venerable and honored statesman of Kentucky, and himself subsequently so distinguished in the highest legislative and diplomatic services of the United States, was appointed secretary of state, and George Nicholas, attorney general: our first two senators in the councils of the Union were John Brown, the first and only member from Kentucky of the old congress, and John Edwards, who shortly afterwards disappeared from public life. An appointment of commissioners for selecting a seat of government, a matter of great jealousy and contention between the people of the opposite sides of the Kentucky river, was then made by the house of representatives, agreeably to the constitution, by nominating twenty-one persons, from whom the delegations from the counties of Mercer and Fayette, alternately struck off one, until five gentlemen were left; these were Robert Todd, John Edwards, John Allen, Henry Lee and Thomas Kennedy, any three of whom might fix the seat of government. 'A majority of the commissioners met soon after their appointment and fixed on Frankfort as the proper place;' which, most happily for the interests of the state, 'required a concurrence of two-thirds of each branch of the legislature to change to any other point.' . . . A state house of stone, sufficiently uncouth, was soon erected at the new seat of government, which was paid for principally by the proceeds of private contribution; an edifice of brick was erected at the expense of the state for the accommodation of the governor. At this session the judiciary was organized, at all times one of the most important departments of government; indeed, it is that which principally brings the force

of society into contact with the individual, by affecting his life, his liberty or his property. The court of appeals was directed to consist of three judges,* one of whom was to be styled Chief Justice of Kentucky, and any two of whom were to form a quorum: subordinate to this supreme court, were county courts likewise created by the constitution, composed of the justices of the different counties, any two of whom were to constitute 'a court of quarter sessions, and any other three a county court.' The justices were conservators of the peace and had jurisdiction of all cases of less value than five pounds (equal to sixteen dollars and sixty-six cents), or one thousand pounds of *tobacco*, if a judgment was rendered for less than one-half of either, it was final; if for more than fifty shillings, eight dollars and thirty-three cents, or five hundred pounds of tobacco, an appeal lay to the quarter sessions. The county court, a tribunal of great local value, was to hold a monthly session, at which it was to take cognizance of all cases of wills, letters of administration, mills, roads, the appointment of guardians and the settlement of their accounts. In addition to this catalogue of interesting municipal powers, it likewise, without any representative character, had the power of levying certain sums of money upon the respective counties for various objects of expense, such as public buildings, bridges and the support of the poor. The jurisdiction of the quarter sessions courts extended to all cases at common law and chancery, except criminal cases involving life or limb. The criminal jurisdiction was exercised by one court, called the court of oyer and terminer, which was held twice a year by three judges, from whose decision there was neither appeal nor writ of error."

* The first judges were Benjamin Sebastian, Caleb Wallace and Harry Innes as chief justice; the latter declining the office, George Muter was appointed in his place and Innes was appointed United States district judge.

CHAPTER XXVI.*

FRENCH SETTLEMENT AT GALLIPOLIS—"THE PLEASANT LAND OF FRANCE"—FALL OF THE BASTILE IN PARIS—VOYAGE OF THE FRENCH EMIGRANTS—THE LANDING AND DISAPPOINTMENT AWAITING THEM—THE MAKING OF A HOME IN THE WILDERNESS—NAMING OF THE SETTLEMENT—FELLING TREES—LIFE OF THE SETTLERS—THE "FRENCH GRANT"—LIST OF TOWN LOTS WITH THEIR ORIGINAL DISPOSITION—DR. SANGRAIN—THE VISIT OF LA FAYETTE.



IN contemplating the many great nations of earth, and in studying their checkered histories which have been recounted by master minds, one is impressed in no slight degree; in as much as the success or failure of great enterprises, brought to notice by the unfolding of events, teach useful lessons concerning the adaptation of certain important means necessary to the accomplishment of great ends. In the economy of nations can be seen at once the purpose of the great Director in main affairs, by the grand success or signal failure of many enterprises; the failure or success of which would have resulted in the great good or disaster of the country. The perplexity of years ago is no longer matter of conjecture; the clouds of doubt have rolled away and the sunlight of instruction shines through the vista of past ages. One nation in particular would claim our attention next to our own, for we feel bound to it by ties which can never be severed. It is a land dear to every American heart, and its sons and daughters occupy places of close intimacy with us in the great human household. Though the vast ocean rolls between us, though our interests may point in different directions and though a century has passed away since this nation endeared herself to our then infant republic, "the pleasant land of France" is one of which we love to think. A truly wonderful country, as even its enemies must agree. No nationality can show to the world a longer roll of great men, nor was there more in any land to make men great than in France. A magnificent Providence has made this country the garden spot of the world, and a thrifty people

* This chapter has been adapted to this volume from manuscript of Hon. John L. Vance, to whom the publishers are under many obligations. Should there chance to be any errors in it, the fault cannot be his as the time was not sufficient to allow the submission of proof to him.

utilized the means given them to keep it beautiful and homelike. So we can say of it as the children of Isreal said long ago as they viewed the land of promise it is "a great good land, a land of brooks and water, of fountains and depths that spring out of fountains and hills, a land of wheat and barley and vines and fig trees, a land of oil, olive and honey." It is also a land of large and populous cities which take their stand in the front rank of enterprising and industrious municipalities, so that from a manufacturing as well as an agricultural standpoint, France acknowledges no country her superior. The storms of time which have devastated so many lands, have swept away none of her riches, and France to-day is, as the France of long ago, a pleasant dwelling place. We love her in a peculiar manner; indeed, we would be unworthy the name of American citizens were it otherwise. In those years, when on account of recent discovery, this American continent was a comparatively unknown land, it was the French explorer through whose instrumentality largely, the world knew of its beauties and attractions. It was the Frenchman who, as a pioneer, assisted in the work of establishing settlements on this great continent. But there are far more potent reasons why we, as citizens of the United States, should love France. Can we ever forget that in the hour of greatest peril, when we as a nation were just struggling into existence, and were almost in the clutches of one of the most powerful governments of the world whose pleasure it was to relegate us to comparative oblivion, and would take this beautiful country which is the pride of all true hearts among us, and make it a mere station from which to draw money for the expense of legislation administered 3,000 miles, that the French soldier was sent to assist us, and that through his timely aid the declaration of independence became a fixed principle in history rather than the fond hope merely of a few brave and honest hearts. In the former home of George Washington at Mt. Vernon, there is a beautiful room handsomely furnished which is kept as it appeared during the lifetime of the "Father of his Country," and is an object of singular interest and delight of the visitor to that interesting place. It is the apartment occupied by Marquis de La Fayette when on a visit to the great general and president after the war of the Revolution. There is a place which is far more valuable than this, and where the memory of the able and popular French general is fondly cherished, and it is in the heart of every American citizen who loves this country. At the centennial celebration of that battle which witnessed the downfall of British power in this country, at Yorktown, Va., it was with feeling of gratitude intensified, rather than deadened by the ages which have gone, that our people saw the French ships, bearing our

honored guests, enter the harbor and the tri-color, of grateful memory, happily blended with our own "star spangled banner," and when the descendants of Rochambeau and La Fayette grasped the hands of their American brothers and sisters they felt that we knew how to appreciate a great national benefit such as their country had conferred upon us. France, however, has had her troubles; she has witnessed dark days within her borders, the storm of national disaster is sadly familiar to her.

There was a time particularly and just following our struggle for independence when she was in the throes of such a revolution as our world has rarely known. It was the old story of the classes against the masses of people which culminated in this fearful condition, and which has been so aptly styled the "reign of terror." Unwise and unjust laws, harshly administered, brought the people face to face with such a state of things as must have caused the thoughtful statesman to tremble from the very outset. Heavy taxation and other means of oppression bore their fruits, and a general demand on the part of the people was borne to those in power. No satisfaction was obtained, although there were conferences held and suggestions made to meet the wants of the 25,000,000 people who sought aid in their time of need. Then we read of the final and decisive action in calling the state general to decide the destinies of France. Then the people became furious in their demands for justice, and we read of the inauguration of the revolution and the dread work of the guillotine which we cannot discuss without a shudder, for it tells of the sacrifice of a great part of the beauty and chivalry of France on the altar of popular fury. One of the most significant and stormy events of this period was the fall of the Bastille in Paris, and the account given of it by Carlyle is most graphic; we quote some of his words concerning a part of it to give an idea of the turbulent condition of the French mind then: "To describe this siege of Bastille (thought to be one of the most important in history), perhaps transcends the talent of mortals. Could one but, after infinite reading get to understand so much as the plan of the building. There is an open esplanade, there are such fore-courts, arched gateway; then new draw bridges, dormer windows; rampart bastions and the eight towers; a labyrinthic mass, high, frowning there of all the ages from twenty years to four hundred and twenty; beleagured, in this its last hour as we said by mere chaos come again. Ordnances of all calibres, threats of all capacities, men of all plans, every man his own engineer; seldom since the war of Pygmies and Cranes was there seen so anomalous a thing. One man is home for a suit of regimentals; no one would heed him in colored clothes; another is haranguing the Gardes Francaises. Frantic patriots pick up the grape

shots, bear them to the Hotel-de-Ville; Paris, you perceive, is to be burned; Flesselles is pale to the very lips for the war of the multitude grows deep. Paris wholly has got to the acme of its frenzy; whirled all ways by panic madness. At every street barricade there whirls simmering a minor whirlpool, strengthening the barricade, since God knows what is coming; and all minor whirlpools play distractedly into that grand fire malestrom which is lashing around the Bastile." Such a scene illustrates the mad-dened condition of the French mind at the time of which we are speaking. Matters grew worse with the passage of time, as it became known that the overthrow of the government was an assured thing. The king and queen were imprisoned and in due time, to the horror of the world, executed. People who were suspected of plotting against the new government were instantly arrested, and with little evidence as to their guilt, frequently hurried to execution. It was unsafe to live in France then, and many availed themselves of any opportunity which presented itself to seek homes in other lands. It was from this great national storm, which now exists as an historical era, that we catch a small piece of driftwood, as it were, and such will afford us material for our discourse. It was at this time that a movement was inaugurated by some of our people to establish a settlement in the then far away western land, and France was the country then selected to furnish the settlers. An American corporation known as the Scioto Land company, had contracted for a sufficiency of land for the purpose on the banks of the Ohio river. An office was opened in Paris and negotiations began for the sale of land to the would be settlers. We have heard of the fair representations made by Mr. Joel Barlow and his companions, who had the matter in charge. Of the beautiful land far away, we do not suppose that the spies sent by Moses to visit the land of Canaan could have made a more favorable and attractive report of its beauties and resources than did these men of this land. Land was cheap with them, too, only a French crown an acre. Dangerous France, with its wild mobs and threats of violence, its courts of injustice and murderous guillotines were on one side and the glorious land offering peaceful homes and untold wealth on the other, though the journey was long and dangerous. A number eagerly embraced the opportunity, for they probably sighed for another country, and through the representations of some of their great men they had learned to love America. Of course the thought of bidding farewell to home and its associations must have been bitter, for with all of his faults the Frenchman clung to the land of nativity; but then the future presented so many possibilities for success, there were many dreams of happiness, no doubt, in their minds. Then they probably cher-

ished the fond hope that at some time in the not far distant future, after having been smiled upon by fortune they might return to France, and that then the political tempest would have spent itself and white winged peace would have settled upon the land. Then they would be happy and their last days be those of peace. Thus it is that so often in the midst of storm and tempest, we are enabled with hopeful sight to trace the outlines of the rainbow on the black clouds which overhang the horizon. The negotiations with the American land agents were perfected, their money for the homes across the Atlantic having been most gladly paid, and the Frenchman is made rich at last by his sanguine hopes, and glad anticipations, while the American congratulates himself that his end is accomplished. Then the busy preparations for leaving the country are made, and with their all packed, they bid farewell to home and country. In February, 1790, the emigrants to the number of 600 set sail from Havre-de-Grace. Five ships had been chartered to take them to Alexandria, Va., which was probably the nearest port to their new homes. Their experiences are unpropitious as are omens in regard to the future. In these days of rapid transit, when a voyage across the ocean represents a not unpleasant journey of a few days' duration, we cannot imagine what it must have been when on account of stormy seas and contrary winds, the traveler was compelled to spend weeks and even months on the great deep. Yet, such experiences as the latter ones were common and were felt by the French immigrants. A desolate feeling must have been theirs then. Behind them was stormy France, its peace that was, having been spent from it, with little hope of return in the near future; about them the stormy waves of old ocean threatening to engulf them and thus violently threaten to end their new born hopes. Before them—what? A fair land they believed, but an uncertainty. They had only man's representations upon which to base their hopes, and man is more than liable to misrepresent facts when he has a purpose to gain thereby. The future only could reveal that which they so ardently desired to know, and they awaited its developments, which with their characteristic sunny disposition, we believe they did as contentedly as possible with men. At length, after a voyage of about three months' duration, they arrived at the town of Alexandria, Va., about seventy-five miles up the river Potomac. Here they encountered circumstances which cheered and depressed them. They were gladdened by a cordial reception on the part of the people to whom a Frenchman was a welcome visitor, in view of the recent benefits conferred upon the country by the assistance of the French government in the war with the British. The emigrant felt, no doubt, as if his fond hopes were about to

be realized, as with his land title in his pocket, he landed on these hospitable shores. But he was destined to be bitterly disappointed for it was not long before he knew that difficulties had arisen which threatened the complete frustration of his plans. The Scioto company, from which he made his purchase had forfeited its title to the lands, having failed to make the payments according to contract with the government, and consequently their dealings with it were null and void. Furthermore, the lands which they had purchased had been repurchased from the government by another corporation known as the Ohio company and contrary to representation, their prospective homes were far away in the western land, in a wilderness infested by hostile Indians. A pitiable condition truly, and one which called forth the sympathy of their new made friends. They were literally strangers in a strange land, and their own country for which they would naturally yearn under such circumstances, unsafe as a retreat from the new dangers which presented themselves. Their sad condition soon became noised abroad and reached the ears of those in authority and ere long a movement was inaugurated, in which President Washington was interested, to compel the Scioto company to reimburse the money of which they had been defrauded. As might have been expected, these negotiations occupied much time and sorely tried the patience of the emigrants, in so much that some gave up in despair and sought other homes, some going to New York and Philadelphia, some settling in Alexandria and a few returning to France. At length an agreement was entered into with Colonel Duer, the company's agent at New York, whereby as far as the means under his control would permit, the emigrants should be transported to the west and established on the Ohio river at a point opposite the mouth of the Big Kanawha where they expected their town to be located, erected suitable block-houses for defense against the attack of the Indians, survey and lay out a town to be divided among them in proportion to cash paid in Paris by each individual on their lands. A written agreement to this effect was made, and with such a promise, which was more perhaps than they had dared to hope for, the emigrants abandoned all claims upon the lands for which they held deeds. The second stage of the journey was now about to begin. Wagons and supplies were obtained and the travelers departed. This journey was far more perilous, no doubt, than the long and stormy passage across the Atlantic. The danger by the wayside consisted of attack from the Indians, sickness and fatigue. In addition to these progress was but slow, in consequence of the almost impassable condition of the roads, and the insufficiency of the supplies provided for their maintenance. Their route was through the valley of Virginia, near the town of Winchester.

thence in a northwesterly direction via Brownsville, Penn., and to the Ohio. The traveler of the present day when he speeds along this section of country, and views it from the window of his Pullman car, can form but little idea of trials and privations of that long journey. Think of a number of people including women and little children finding a way over the high mountains, and across swollen streams, meagrely supplied with food and harrassed at all times by fear of the ever vigilant savage, and you may fancy the experience of the emigrants. The Scioto Land company had contracted with Col. Rufus Putnam to erect buildings and furnish the settlers with provisions for a year, and he sent Major Burnham down from Ft. Harmar on the Muskingum river, with forty men for that purpose. The first town, under the name of Fair Haven, had been laid out by the company opposite the mouth of the Big Kanawha and was intended for the point of location of the French settlers, but as the ground was considered low there and liable to overflow, Major Burnham and his party proceeded to a point four miles below where the high banks could well withstand the rising waters as has since been proven to the satisfaction of the residents. The locating party arrived here June 8, 1790, and immediately began the work of preparation for the settlers who would make a home in the wilderness. This was, no doubt, a most arduous undertaking, but determined energy made itself felt, and soon there were evidences that order would emerge from chaos. Trees, brush and other debris made way for the houses which found the new town. On what is now the public square were erected eighty log cabins, twenty in a row. At each of the corners were block houses, two stories in height. In front of the cabins, close by the river bank, was a small log breast-work. Above the cabins on the square, were two other parallel rows of cabins which, with a high stockade fence, and block houses at each of the upper corners, formed a sufficient fortification in time of danger. These upper cabins were a story and a half in height and furnished in better style than those below, being intended for the wealthier class and for those appointed to manage and superintend the affairs of the colony. Such was the home which the emigrant found for his reception when weary and travel-worn, he at length reached his final destination. He had journeyed far by land and dreamed bright dreams, and was it all for this? A few log cabins with a back-ground of forest which was the home of the sworn enemy of the white race? France is a country no longer in extent than one of the average sized states of the Union, and at this time its population was about 25,000,000. Think of 500 people from this thickly populated place and composed entirely of those ignorant of what would be required of them in a new land—physicians,

lawyers, jewelers and other artisans, a few mechanics, servants of the exiled nobility and many with no trade or profession—suddenly placed in a wilderness of this kind infested by wild beasts and murderous bands of Indians. They were as inexperienced in pioneer life as children. The hardy natures, rugged characters as Daniel Boone, or any of those who preceded the march of progress, could readily combat with the many difficulties which were likely to present themselves.

They knew what to expect in frontier life and it was even with a sense of enjoyment, perhaps, that they engaged in the work of preparing the way for the settler. The French emigrants, however, could not view the prospect without consternation and conjecture as to the many difficulties which would arise in their work of making the best of a bad bargain. The solution of the problem was with them, and as subsequent events proved, many of them rose bravely to the occasion. There are some people whose strength and grandeur of character would never be known, save by means of severe tests. Hard trials most frequently prove to be blessed in disguise on account of the way in which they represent the true worth of a man's character. The pure metal cannot be obtained save through the fire of the melting furnace. Thus it was with these French settlers, for they not only determined to remain, but made a success of what appeared a hopeless cause. At an early meeting of the settlers, the town was named Gallipolis (city of Gauls). The work of making their new home attractive was long and arduous, this latter being the natural result of the inexperience of the settlers. Everything that they did had to be learned and with as many hard knocks. But indomitable preservance gave its usual testimony, in that the lesson was learned. Quoting the words of one who has written on this subject, "a description of their early attempt to adapt themselves to circumstances, would be amusing, but it was no joke to them." A number were seriously wounded and some lost their lives in learning to fell trees. Having no knowledge of the axe, some two or three would tackle some monster of the forest girdling the tree and giving the death blow at the heart, as can be readily seen, the tree would oftentimes slip from the stump upon the workmen (or more frequently, on the admiring group who were watching the process) who, not being able to tell the direction in which the tree would fall, would be crushed to the ground under the heavy branches. A short experience of this kind sharpened their wits and by placing strong men at the ends of two ropes, the other ends being fastened to the tree, found that they could guide it in its fall and this operation thereafter become less dangerous. It will be seen from such accidents as this, although the settlers were enterprising, courageous and willing to work, and mainly very intelligent as a class, they were obliged to suf-

fer by practical experience before they were able to adapt themselves to the new mode of living, or make much substantial progress in rendering their situation comfortable, as one must suffer when learning a new principle in life. An account of this settlement by an eye witness will not be less interesting. The letter of Monsieur Mentelle to the *American Pioneer*, published in Cincinnati, in April, 1843, among other matters contains the following: "I did not arrive till nearly all the colonists were there. I descended the river in 1791, in flat-boats, landed with troops commanded by Gen. St. Clair, destined for an expedition against the Indians. Some of my countrymen joined that expedition; among others was Count Malartie, a captain of the French guard of Louis XVI." Concerning the settlement at Gallipolis, he said among other things: "Notwithstanding the great difficulties, the difference of tempers, education and professions, the inhabitants lived in harmony. The Americans and hunters employed by the company performed the first labors of clearing, and the township was divided into lots. Although the French were willing to work, yet the clearing of the American wilderness and its heavy timber was more than they could perform. To migrate from the eastern states to the far west is painful enough now days, but how much more so must it be for a citizen of a large European town. Even a farmer of the old country would find it very hard, if not impossible, to clear land in the wilderness. The hunters who supplied the settlers with fresh meat were paid by the colonists to prepare their garden ground which was to receive seeds brought from France. The colony began to improve in its appearance and comfort. The fresh provisions were supplied by the company's hunters, the others came from the "magazine." These represented some of the bright features of the early life of the colonists, and all seemed working well and no doubt lively hopes were excited in their breasts that the difficulties of either hitherto trying positions were lessening, but again they were called upon to face disappointment. At this time it became apparent that the Scioto company could not obtain for them any further remuneration for the impositions that had been practiced upon them. The company had fulfilled nearly all of their engagements for the first six months, after which they ceased their supply of provisions to the colonists and it was given as a reason that one or two of their agents who had received the funds in France for the purchased lands had run off with the money to England, and the company were defrauded of the whole without having purchased or gained little or any of the tract which they had sold to the deceived colonists. An unusually severe winter had set in and the rigor of climate was added to other trials and difficulties. The Ohio river had frozen over so that flat-boats could not come down with flour from above;

the hunters no longer had meat to sell. The people were destitute of almost everything except a scanty supply of vegetables and almost a famine was produced in the settlement. The money and clothing they had brought with them were nearly gone, they knew not to whom to go to get their lands and their condition became such as to excite despair. Looking back upon them through the lapse of years, our minds are filled with sympathetic thoughts and the fact that these difficulties were successfully combatted, kindles within us a feeling of admiration and pride. The pilgrim fathers who landed "on wild New England's shore," and whose hardihood and determination have sounded their praises down the ages deserve little less laudation in the pages of history than the settlers of Gallipolis, who have left as a rich heritage to those who have lived after them, the testimony of the unconquerable nature of brave perseverance. Following this condition of affairs, the fear of the Indians distorted their peace of mind, "when," says Mentelle (speaking of some months previous of the expeditions of Gens. St. Clair and Wayne, many of the troops stopped at Gallipolis; the Indians, who no doubt came in the night, at last saw the regulars going morning and evening around the town in order to ascertain if there were any Indian traces, attacked them, killing and wounding several. A soldier, beside other wounds, was tomahawked, but recovered. A French colonist who had tried to raise corn some distance from town saw an Indian rising from behind some brushwood against a tree, shot him in the shoulder. The Indian, hearing an American patrol, must have thought that the Frenchman made a part of it, and some time afterward a Frenchman was killed and a man and a woman made prisoners as they were going to collect ashes to make soap at some distance from the town. After this, although the Indians committed depredations on the Americans on both sides of the river, the French had suffered only by the loss of some cattle carried away, until the murder of the man referred to. As the severe winter advanced, the danger from the Indians augmented every day. Kanawha had been visited by one of these sad events, that few of the present generation can realize, other than by comparing to a romantic tale of ghosts. A Capt. Vanbever had gone to make sugar at a little distance from and opposite Kanawha. His camp was built in a clearing to prevent surprise. He had his negro men with him, intending to make sugar and raise corn, but staid to make the former only. The camp was fronting the river and in sight of Kanawha. They had not been there long when a negro saw an Indian running after him. He warned his master, who was not far from the house, and they both entered it at the same time and secured the door. The Indians, thinking they had no arms and whose intention was to carry off the negro,

turned back as soon as he saw them in the house, and was shot by the negro with a gun that was loaded with buckshot. The alarm spread at Kanawha. The inhabitants came in their canoes, thinking that there might be more Indians, but on their landing they only saw the body of a single one, and after having stripped him of what he had they threw him into the river, and the corpse floated down and was carried by the stream to the shores of Gallipolis the next day as if to confirm the rumor which they had heard that morning, and as a warning to themselves. Capt. Vanbever had let his beard grow, and had sworn to leave it so until he should have taken a complete revenge on the Indians who had killed one of his children. The expedition against the Indians by Gen. St. Clair having met with signal defeat, the Indians were encouraged to greater depredations in the western land; but fortunately for our colonists, they were directed principally against the Americans. The hostile tribes imagined that the French settlers were from Canada and with the French at that place they were on terms of friendship. Immediately after St. Clair's defeat, Col. Sproat, of Marietta, appointed four spies for Gallipolis, one of whom was Monseieur Mentelle. These were released after the treaty of Greenville in 1795. Hon. Rufus Putnam, of Marietta, was the acknowledged head of the settlements in Washington county, which then embraced a territory now covered by nearly forty counties, and to him an application was made and steps were taken to organize a defensive force. By this order, Col. Sproat appointed Capt. Francis Hebecourt, a man of distinguished qualifications, to take command. A Frenchman named Maulden was appointed lieutenant and Capt. C. R. Menager, ensign. A company of ninety colonists offered their services, and were divided into squads of ten, and on each succeeding day one squad or patrol company was to start out in the morning to act in conjunction with the scouts or spies whose duty it was to return every night and report the presence or absence of the Indians. In this way a defense was kept up until Gen. Wayne defeated the Indians at the battle of Fallen Timbers on the Maumee Rapids, five miles above Perrysburg, Ohio, August 20, 1794, and the treaty of peace at Greenville with all the western tribes. After peace was declared, a full intercourse took place then and the colonists from Massachusetts and other New England states at Marietta and Belpre and with settlements at Pt. Pleasant and Charleston. Thus in an alternate atmosphere of hope and fear, the colonists passed the first years of their lives in the new world. They were, perhaps becoming accustomed to the changed condition of their existence. Even in the far away western wilderness they were recognizing home ties, and pleasant associations were being formed which endeared this wild country to

them. France with its attractions had passed out of their lives; such represented but features of the past and soon would be to them but fond associations of what had been. There was one great difficulty which must be surmounted, however, before they could resolutely face life in the country. The titles to their homes had never been perfected; indeed, there was every reason to suppose they were living on land which belonged to other people. Although it had been sold to them by the Scioto company, which had transported them hither, the fact remained that the Ohio company still held the title to it inasmuch as that corporation had bought and paid for it, and there had been no just and legal transfer of it to other parties, and it was but natural that the owners should be demanding their rights. This dilemma which they had known that they must face when it reached its climax brought with it its disheartening influences; indeed, so great must have been the discouragement, that the destruction of all the new ties must have been threatened. A letter from Mr. J. D. Le Ture, a Gallipolis merchant who had moved to Cincinnati for business purposes and which is now in the possession of Major E. C. Dawes, of Cincinnati, throws some light on the situation at this date. It was written under date of July 6, 1792, and is addressed to Mr. John Matthews at Gallipolis. Mr. Le Ture says: "The situation of the colony alarms me such, I cannot think so many people will be sacrificed to a few speculators. Should anything turn up that would oblige me to go to the settlement, I believe it will be in my power to advise them on the methods they are to take in order to have justice done them." Some of the colonists became disheartened and left to settle elsewhere with the means that remained to them, and resumed their trades in the more populated parts of the country. Others led a half savage life, common among pioneers, as hunters for skins, and affairs for a time wore a gloomy aspect. The more determined men, however, who appeared to have represented the rank and file of the colony, resolved upon a course of action which, if successful, would give to them homes which they so ardently craved. Six years had now passed since they had sailed from Havre-de-Grace, and an enumeration showed that but 300 of them were left. These in general assembly resolved to make a memorial of the grievances and send it to congress. The memorial claimed no rights from that body, but was a detail of their wrongs and suffering, altogether with an appeal to the generosity of the government, and they did not appeal in vain. Monsieur Jean G. Gervais started with the petition, and at Philadelphia met with a lawyer, M. Duponceau, through whose aid he obtained from congress a grant of 24,000 acres of land, known by the name of the "French Grant," and located opposite Little Sandy, for the people who still remained

in Gallipolis. The act annexed the condition of settling on the lands for three years before the deed of gift would be given. M. Gervais received 4,000 acres of this land for his services in the matter, according to previous agreement. Each inhabitant has thus a tract of $217\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, but before the surveys and other arrangements could be made, some time was necessary during which those who had claimed the wilderness and improved Gallipolis being reluctant to close all their labor, and finding that a company owning the lands of Marietta had met to divide lands which they had purchased in a common stock, the colonists sent a deputation with a proposal to sell to them the tract where Gallipolis is situated, and to be paid in proportion to what was improved, which was accepted. When at last the distribution of the French grant was achieved, some sold their shares, others went to settle on it, while many sent tenants and either remained at Gallipolis or went elsewhere. Col. Robert Safford, so familiarly known as the member of Maj. Burnham's band who felled the first tree on the site of what was afterward Gallipolis was present at this drawing of these lots, and has thus related the circumstances: "Gen. Putnam appointed Mr. Martin to survey the grant, and after this was done and the lots numbered, Messrs. Manney, Putnam and Talmadge appointed a day when all who were to get land were to meet in the public square. The day came and all assembled. The names of those having an interest were written upon squares and as many like pieces were numbered. The papers were placed in two small boxes, two clerks were appointed, and two disinterested men were selected to each of whom one of the boxes was given. When all was ready the boxes were shaken and opened. Col. Safford was selected to draw out the papers which were numbered. As he drew out and announced the number, the clerk took it down; then from the other box a name was drawn, which being announced was taken down as the owner of the number just drawn. They proceeded thus until the whole number was distributed. After a long time, as it appeared to the settler, some of the hopes which had encouraged him were realized in that the French grant had been obtained, and that Gallipolis had become the property of its citizens. True, there were not many left, comparatively speaking, to enjoy the homes which had been won in so laborious and perilous a manner, but there was deep satisfaction no doubt in realizing that although the fierce battle had been fought the victory was won. Now having described the inauguration and accomplishment of this enterprise of establishing a colony and building a town on the banks of the Ohio, we will turn our attention for a brief period to the topography of Gallipolis in the first stages of its growth. January 10, 1791, the inhabitants of Gallipolis made a plat of town

lots. An interesting document which has fortunately been secured, gives a list of town lots of Gallipolis, with their original disposition. The original of this was probably made in Paris, when the anticipative colonist was about to depart from his new home, or it may have been made after the first stages of his long and weary journey had been completed, when after having been tortured by apprehension, the order had come for him to move on to possess the land, just before he left Alexandria. The list is here appended, thinking it peculiarly interesting in this connection. A numeral list of the town lots of Gallipolis, with their original disposition: Claud Morrell, 1; Jean B. Laurens, 2; Chas. Vaux Maret, 3; Marquet Son, 4; Colinet, 5; Etienne Chandivert, 6; Made Charet, 7; Jean B. Chemin, 8; Pierre A. Huillier, 9; Francis Picard, 10; Minquey Father, 11; Pierre Lelebic, 12; Claude Baua, 13; Claude J. Naudete, 14; Maichand, 15; Wiant Divacht, 16; Jean Hammer, 17; Jean Buzeres, 18; Nicholas Upimei, 19; Sold, 20; Grovet, 21; Huburt Pamar, 22; G. Pudiet, 23; Jean Val-lot, 24; Louis Vanschritz, 25; Michand, 26; Jean Ancil, 27; Michael Crauzet, 28; Pierre Chandivers, 30; D. Hebecourt, 31; Sangrain, 35; Pierre Marquier, 37; D. Hebecort, 38; Jas. Dazet, 39; F. Bugeret, 40; J. P. Jeare, 41; J. G. Petit, 42; F. Daroux, 43; Alex Roupell, 44; J. B. Orlette, 45; F. Valten, 46; L. Burgren, 48; J. B. Duchallard, 49; N. Petit, 50; A. Parquier, 51; E. Willeming, 52; F. Quartet, 53; Benj. Armond, 54; J. M. Guiollot, 55; Chas. Soudry, 56; Catherine Avelin, 57; M. Berchetot, 58; Peter Locke, 59; J. B. Guiat, 62; Clude DuBois, 73; J. P. Laperouse, 75; Michael Mazure, 77; P. M. Richards, 78; J. I. Inbers, 85; J. Coutier, 86; P. Matry, 87; Jos. Goiyon, 88; Alex Chevalier, 89; J. L. Colat, 91; Pierre Chabot, 95; P. L. Guilbert, 97; Antoine Due, 100; Petit Jean, 110; Augustine Le Clerc, 112; D. Petit, 120; Jean Antram, 126; Pierre Duteil, 127; Louis Berthe, 131; Valton, 135; Pierre Bidon, 147; LeClar, 159; P. Ferard, 162; Menager, 165; Dr. Petit, 167; Gervais, 169; Louis Vialette, 172; I. G. Caille, 175; Jean Rouilly, 181; Julian Pradel, 182; J. A. Foulan, 193; P. F. Perot, 200; F. Vallot, 235. Whether this plan was followed the writer is unable to judge, but is inclined to the opinion that it was not, in view of the complications arising from subsequent events. About five years after the settlers landed here there was written an account of the price and distribution of the lots of the town; "Gallipolis, this the 14th day of December, 1795, P. Bureau and J. M. Berthelot have published and given notice that Monday next they will render account to the French inhabitants of their mission as agents to treat with the Ohio company. To-day, Monday, the assembled inhabitants, after having agreed to purchase the land of the Ohio company have proceeded to choose by secret ballot, commissioners to examine the rights of preemption of the inhabi-

tants of the city lots and of four acres of cultivated lands and also to fix the price of city lots, and of the four acres according to what they were worth before they were occupied. Whereupon the inhabitants have unanimously named for commissioners: Marion Dupoint, Mathias Barthelot, Jean Parmenwier, Christopher Etienne, Francis DeVacht, Jean Pierre and Roman Bureau. To-day, Monday, six o'clock P. M., the commissioners have unanimously appointed Marion Dupoint, moderator, and Christopher Etienne, secretary of the committee. It has also been resolved that A. Tupper, surveyor, be chosen for any operation of surveying that may be found necessary. Resolved, That Mr. Tupper, accompanied by Mr. Bureau, shall go to examine the line which separates the lands proposed to be bought from the reserved lands and from them belonging to the Ohio company in order to proceed immediately to such operations as they shall judge to be proper." (The reserved lands were those set apart for educational and religious purposes, being sections 16 and 29.) "It has been resolved that the public be warned by notices to repair to the houses of Messrs. Sangrain and Bureau, in order to make known their rights and claims to the property of Gallipolis. Signed: Le Failleur, Parmentier, M. Berthelot, Duport and P. Bureau. December 16, the committee, after having been occupied the entire day in receiving claims of proprietors, have resolved to give new notice to those who have not yet presented their claims to come to-morrow in order to finish the work. December 16th, resolved that this petition shall hereafter be placed before the eyes of the people as the only one which appears proper in order to conciliate the different interests of the proprietors considering the different positions of the pieces of land; in order that those persons who have few lots, and of which the situation is not advantageous, be not overcharged. Plan. The banks of the river and the commons not having been surveyed, and never having been regarded as property, we have thought it right that they be placed at a price proportionate to their position. Lots on the bank of the river and of the public square being a source of wealth by their position, we have thought that they should be placed at a price higher than the others. The lots on the banks of the river more remote have been placed at a price lower than the preceding, but higher than those which are remote from the river. The lands which remain to be divided being for the greater part mountainous or hilly have been in consequence placed at a low price." Then followed the designation of the lots and prices attached, after which the following resolutions: Resolved, For the public good and for the interest of the inhabitants the streets and public square shall remain free without being closed on the bank of the river by any building,

or being sold. Resolved, That the public be notified to meet tomorrow to receive the report of the work of the committee. Resolved, That the banks of the river shall remain open facing each street, that lines shall be drawn in the directions of the streets without trespassing thereon. Plan accepted. Eteinne, secretary. December 17, Resolved, That the secretary be ordered by the committee to go to the house of Mr. D. Hebercourt, to request him to declare if it is his intention to join himself with us for the acquisition of our property as his partner, Dr. Petit has done, and to say to him that the execution of the plan adopted by the inhabitants requires a positive answer. Etienne, secretary. Mr. Hebercourt has replied that he is disposed to agree to the acquisition of the lands of Gallipolis, paying for his property 7s. 6d. per acre, and that he will not conform to the plan adopted until he has taken such steps as he believes his interests require. Eitenne, secretary. Resolved, That Messrs. Berthelot and Duport, whom we have appointed collectors, go to the houses of the inhabitants to receive the sums set down in the lists made between us according to the plan agreed on by the inhabitants December 17, 1795. Resolved, That Mr. Duport is by us appointed cashier, and in this capacity the money remain in his hands until the time of the payment for the lands. According to the resolutions of the committees on the 16th of this month, agreed to by the assembled inhabitants reserved lots near the square, divided into eighteen equal portions have been drawn by lot in the presence of the assembled inhabitants and fell to Messrs. Vanden, Chandiver, Vanschritz, Gervais, Ferrare, LaCour, Davoux, Villerrain, Quarleron, Francis Valodin and Pierre Richou, December 22. By virtue of the resolution of the committee of the 18th, Messrs. Marin, DuPort and Matheiu Berthelot have engaged in receiving the sums to be given by each proprietor which sums have amounted to £94, 5s. and 6d. in money and orders to Mr. Sproat for the appointment of spies, of which sum the money amounted to £91, 33s. and 2d. Bills on different persons £203. Orders on spies on current appointments £553 which sums form a total of £1,042, 2s. and 8d. Resolved, That Messrs. Berthelot, Bureau, Marvin, DuPort, DeVacht and Jean LeTaileure, go to Marietta in the name of the committee of the inhabitants of Gallipolis to conclude with the Ohio company the acquisition of the two squares of land indicated in the plan which has been given us by the agents of the Ohio company, Etienne, Sec. Of the manner and life of the early settler of Gallipolis the information of the writer is meager. The French, like other natives of southern Europe, possess a cheerful disposition, but being also excitable this is characterized very often by extreme degrees of elation or depression. They have winning manners and are hospitable and remarkable for their

thrift and ingenuity. That these traits were marked among the early settlers, is proved by what has already been observed, as well as what has been learned from the early historian. Quite a flood of light is thrown upon this branch of the subject by the account of John Heckewelder of his visit to Gallipolis in company with Gen. Putnam when making a journey from the upwaters of the Ohio to the Wabash river in the interest of the government in Indian affairs in 1792. He says: "We rode to the French settlement of Gallipolis situated on the north bank of the Ohio, between three and four miles below the mouth of the Kanawha. Here we spent the whole of the following day in visiting the skilled workmen and the gardens laid out in European style. The most interesting shops of the workmen were those of goldsmiths and watch makers. They showed us work on watches, compasses and sun dials finer than any I had ever beheld. Next in interest were the sculptors and stone cutters; these latter had two mantles most artistically carved. Gen. Putnam at once purchased one of them for 12 guineas, the other was intended for a rich Dutch gentleman who had built a two-story house here fifty feet long. The upper part of the mantle being there, ordered by a Spanish gentleman of New Orleans, which, because of fine workmanship upon it, was to cost 20 or 22 guineas. The worker in glass seemed to be a born artist. He made us a thermometer, a barometer, a glass tobacco pipe, a small bottle which would contain a thimbleful, and a most diminutive stopper and a number of works of art beside. He also manufactured receiver medicines, nitric acid, etc. As we were on a journey and were in daily need of light and fire he presented us with a glassful of dry stuff, which burns as soon as a match is applied. This stuff, he told us, was manufactured from bones. Concerning the fine gardens, I must add the following: That in these were to be found the most beautiful flowers, artichokes and almond trees and beside many vineyards and some nice fields. At a distance of about 100 steps from the Ohio there is a round hill, which probably dates its origin from the former inhabitants of this land, as also the remarkable fortifications and buildings to be found in this country. The hill, about thirty feet high, has been improved as a beautiful pleasure garden with a pretty summer house on top. The town of Gallipolis consists of 150 dwellings. The inhabitants number between 300 and 400. A detachment of from fifty to sixty men of the regular army is stationed here for protection. Beside, a few Virginia spies or scouts are kept and paid by the government. The militia also willing to serve for remuneration. The Chicamague creek flows back of the town, and below it enters the Ohio. Fine boats are also manufactured in this town; our vessel is one of them. At noon we dined with one of the most prominent French

gentleman of the place, at the house of the judge and doctor, Mr. Petit." On his return from Vincennes on the Wabash, Mr. Heckewelder speaks again of stopping at Gallipolis, and alludes feelingly of the troubles through which the people were passing, owing to the complications in the matter of their land titles, a very clear and concise account of which he gives together with the whole transaction with the agents of the Scioto company. From this it will be seen that our settlers were not people who would remain inactive or slothful even when surrounded by many and great difficulties but worked faithfully to make their new homes attractive and their works have through the years which have elapsed since, borne testimony to their earnestness of purpose. A much fuller account of life among our settlers in a work entitled, "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West," by H. M. Brackenridge. Mr. Brackenridge was born at the village of Ft. Pitt, on the site of what is now Pittsburg. At a very early age was sent by his father to the village of St. Genevieve, La., for the purpose of making him acquainted with the French language. This distance of 1,500 miles which lay between him and home was traveled by means of a flatboat. After spending several years at St. Genevieve and acquiring the language, he departed in company with a gentleman sent for him to return to Ft. Pitt. On account of the inclemency of the weather to which he was exposed, owing to the scanty accommodations afforded by the flat-boats he was taken quite sick with fever and ague and shortly after the arrival at Louisville, where it seems a stop of some days was made. After the journey had been further prosecuted, he grew no better and on the arrival at Gallipolis, he was taken to a house in the village and left there. The exact date of this is not given but from the date previously mentioned it appears to have been some time before 1795. The account of his sojourn in his own words: "Behold me once more in port and domiciled at the house of Dr. Sangrain, a cheerful, spritely little Frenchman, four feet six, English measure, and a chemist, natural philosopher and physician, both in English and French signification of the word. I was delighted with my present liberation from the irksome thralldom of the canoe, and with the possession of the free use of my limbs. After wrapping my blanket around me, which was my only bedding, I threw myself into a corner for a couple of hours, during the continuance of fever and ague, and then woke up refreshed with the lightness of spirits which I possessed in an unusual degree. I ran out of the house along the bank, where I met a boy my own size. I laid hold of him in mirth, but he, mistaking my vivacity, gave me a sound beating. The next day Doctor tried his skill upon me, or rather upon my ague, and pretty much on the plan of another

celebrated physician, whether upon the principle of the solvent universal I do not so well know, but certain it is he repeated the very words recorded by Gil Blas, 'bebe agua hijo mio, bebe agua in abundancia'—'drink water, my son, drink plenty of water.' But the ague was not to be shaken off so easily; it still continued to visit me daily as usual all that winter and part of the next spring. I was but poorly clad, was without hat or shoes, but gradually became accustomed to do without them: like the Indian, I might in time have become all face. My guardian left no money, perhaps he had none to leave. Mr. Sangrain had none to spare; besides, as this was the period when the French revolution was at its height, sans culottism was popular with those who favored the breaking up of social economy. Dr. Sangrain, however, and many others of Gallipolis were not of that party. They were royalists who bitterly lamented the condition of their native country. Gallipolis, with the exception of a few straggling log houses, of which that of Dr. Sangrain's was one, consisted of two long rows of barracks built of logs and partitioned off in rooms of sixteen or twenty feet wide, with what is called a cabin roof and wooden chimneys. At one end there was a larger room than the rest which served as a council chamber and ball room. This singular village was settled by people from Paris and Lyons, chiefly artisans peculiarly unfitted to sit down in the wilderness and clear away forests. Their former employments had only been calculated to administer to the luxury of highly polished and wealthy society. There were carvers and guilders to the king, coach makers, friseurs and peruke makers and various others who might have found employment in larger towns, but who were entirely out of their place in the wilds of Ohio. Their means had by this time been exhausted and they were beginning to suffer from the want of the comforts and the necessaries of life. The country back from the river was still wilderness and the Gallipolitans did not pretend to cultivate anything more than smaller garden spots depending for their supply of provisions on the boats which now began to descend the river, but they had to pay cash and that was becoming scarce. They still assembled at the ball-room twice a week. It was evident, however, that they felt the disappointment and were no longer happy. The predilections of the best of them being on the side of the bourbons, the horrors of the Revolution, even in their remote position, mingled with their private misfortunes which had at this time nearly reached their acme, in consequence of the discovery that they had no title to their lands, having been cruelly deceived by those from whom they had purchased. It is well known that congress generously made them a grant of 20,000 acres from which, however, but few of them derived any advantage. As the Ohio was now more frequented, the house was oc-

casionally resorted to and especially by persons looking out for land to purchase. The doctor had a small apartment which contained his chemical apparatus and I used to sit by him as often as I could watching the various operations of his blowpipe. I loved the cheerful little man and he became very fond of me in turn. Many of my countrymen used to come and stare at his doings which they were half inclined to think had too near a resemblance of the black-art. The doctor's little phosphoric matches ignited spontaneously when the glass tube was broken, and from which he derived some emolument, was thought by some to be rather beyond mere human power. His barometers with the scale neatly painted with the pen, and the frames richly carved, were objects of wonder and some of them are probably still extant in the west. But what astonished some of our visitors was a large peach in a glass bottle, the neck of which could only admit a common cork. This was accomplished by tying the bottle to the limb of a tree with the peach, when young, inserted in it. His swans which swam around basins of water amused more than any of the wonders exhibited by this wonderful man. The doctor was a great favorite with the Americans as well as for his vivacity and sweetness of temper which nothing could move, as on account of a circumstance which gave him high claim to the esteem of the backwoodsmen. He had shown himself, notwithstanding his small stature and great good nature, a very hero in combat with the Indians. He had descended the Ohio in company with two French philosophers who believed in the primitive innocence and goodness of the children of the forests. They could not be persuaded that any danger was to be feared from the Indians, as they had no intention to injure the people, they supposed, of course, that no harm could be meditated on their part. Dr. Sangrain was not altogether so well convinced of their good intentions, and accordingly kept his pistols loaded; near the mouth of the Big Sandy, a canoe with a party of warriors approached the boat, the philosophers invited them on board by signs, when they came rather too willingly. The first thing they did on entering the boat was to salute the two men with the tomahawk, and they would have treated the doctor in the same way but that he used his pistols with good effect, killed two of the savages and then leaped into the water, diving like a dipper. At the flash of the guns, the others had succeeded swimming to the shore with several severe wounds whose scars were conspicuous. The doctor was married to an amiable young woman, but not possessing as much vivacity as himself. As Madam Sangrain had no maid to assist in housework, her brother, a boy of my age, and myself were her principal helps in the kitchen. I used to go in the morning miles for a little milk some times on the frozen ground, barefooted. I tried a pair of

sabots, or wooden shoes, but was unable to make any use of them, although they had been made by the "carver to the King." In speaking of his other occupations, Mr. Brackenridge says: "In the spring and summer a good deal of my time was passed in the gardens weeding beds." It was thus engaged that he formed an association which is interesting, as it bears somewhat on the future history of Gallipolis. He formed the acquaintance, he says, of a young lady of eighteen or twenty years of age on the other side of the palings, who was often occupied as he was. "Our friendship," says he, "which was purely platonic, commenced by the story of Blue Beard, recounted by her, and with the novelty and pathos of which I was most interested. Connected with this young lady there is an incident which I feel pleasure in relating. One day, while standing alone on the bank of the river, I saw a man who had gone in to bathe and had got beyond his depth. Without being able to swim he began to struggle for life, and in a few seconds would have sunk to rise no more. I shot down the bank like an arrow, leaped into a canoe which fortunately happened to be close by, pushed the end of it to him, and he rose, perhaps for the last time. He seized it with convulsive clasp and held it so firmly that the skin afterward came off the parts of his arms which pressed against the wood. I screamed for help; several persons came and took him out perfectly insensible. He afterward married the young lady and they reared a numerous and respected family. One of his daughters married a young lawyer who now represents the district in congress. Thus at eight years of age I earned the civic crown, by saving the life of a human being." That this incident is interesting will be agreed upon when it is told that this young lawyer referred to was Hon. Samuel F. Vinton, who is recognized as one of the prominent figures both in our state and nation. Continuing this narrative in reference to the life at Gallipolis, at that time, Mr. Brackenridge says that toward the latter part of summer the inhabitants suffered severely from sickness and want of provisions. The situation was truly wretched. The swamps in the rear, now exposed by the clearing between it and the river, became the cause of a frightful epidemic, from which few escaped and many became its victims. He himself had recovered from the ague and was exempted from the disease, but the family with whom he lived, as well as the rest suffered much from absolute hunger. To show extremity of the distress, he says that on one occasion the brother of Madam Sangrain and himself pushed a light canoe to an island above the town where they pulled some corn and took it to a flouring-mill, and excepting some of the raw grains, they had had nothing to eat since the day before until they carried home the meal and made some bread, but had neither milk nor meat. "I have learned," said he, "to be thank-

ful when I had a sufficiency of wholesome food and was blessed with health, and I could put up with humble fare without a murmur, although accustomed to luxuries, when I have seen those who have none, have experienced absolute starvation turn up their noses at that which was very little worse than the best they could ever know." It has been our privilege to learn of the internal state of affairs in the colony during the years which immediately succeeded this interesting narrative. But from what can be learned through old inhabitants, some of whom were acquainted with some of the early colonists and most of whom have gone to their reward. We feel assured that the thrift and enterprise of these early days was but an index of what was to come in after time. After the colonists had been safely established in new homes and knew that in the future they were free from the harrassing influence of litigation in consequence of defective land titles, and had learned some of the secrets of border life in so much as the prospective attacks from the Indians, lost much of their terror, being better acquainted as they were with the modes of defense, their minds being less harrassed, they were the better able to enter heartily into the work which was left them, of making the wilderness blossom like the rose. We are persuaded that these years, which represented the lull after the storm, were years of peace and contentment, and consequently could, in after years, be regarded by those who passed through them with pleasant remembrance. We are often told that the good works which live after the performers are gone are the most powerful witnesses as to their faithfulness, in as much as they not only benefit their day and generation, but bespeak the earnestness of purpose as well as the kindly dispositions of the performer. There are many institutions which were identified with the far-off time indicated by our subject, but there are those which indirectly sprung from the efforts of those times and in which these characters and ancestors of the citizens are so clearly portrayed that we are forced to acknowledge that they being dead, yet speak. The influence of the French settlers has been felt through the many intervening years, and though our town has changed its population to a great degree, and American blood is flowing in the veins of many of our people, we cannot but think that the happy disposition of La Belle France is ever cropping out and the pleasure loving hearts of long ago are calling to us across the ages, and that the name "Gallipolis" is still appropriate when applied to our town, for in love, sympathy and gratitude, as well as by the nearer ties of blood, we are the inhabitants of the city of the French. Among the institutions which bring us into close relationship of earlier days of our town's history, there is one which we feel illustrates to a certain degree what has been said of its early inhabitants.

A time honored and much appreciated institution we consider in the Gallia academy. True it is that this was not founded until about twenty years after the settlers arrived here, but the names of those who inaugurated it as an educational medium are to be found those who braved the difficulties identified with the settlement. This is among the oldest institutions of learning in the state, and that in it "not only nearly all of the older residents of Gallipolis and Gallia county received their education, but many who afterward became men of prominence throughout the country here took the first steps in learning which led them to fame." A short account of its organization may not be inappropriate in this connection. A meeting was held February 8, 1810, for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of erecting in Gallipolis an institution to be appropriated to the instruction of the youth and such other purposes as may be deemed of public utility. Robert Safford was chosen chairman and Nathaniel Gates, secretary. A series of resolutions embodying these principles was passed at this meeting and subscription started which was circulated with satisfactory results. Among the subscribers are to be noted some of the oldest and most honored citizens many of whom are to be seen among the lot holders of Gallipolis in colonial days. In due time a lot was purchased and a commodious building erected thereon and the work of refining the mind by means of education received an impetus which showed that the builders of Gallia academy had done wisely and well. From its portals have passed many who have won for themselves fame in after years. This venerable institution, could it speak, could bear greater testimony to the admirable traits of our forefathers than any yet recorded by the pen of the historian. As we pause in the spirit of meditation over the shifting scenes which rise before us in a consideration of the early ages of the French colony here, as well as the intervening years which separated us from that distant date, we can find food for much instruction that we draw our lessons principally from those who witnessed the early dawn of civilization in this then far away wilderness. The first trait of character which claims our admiration was the earnestness of purpose which marked the lives of the pioneers. No wonder that it is that our record tells that some of them were not equal to the emergency and went to seek satisfaction in more congenial atmosphere. With the principal part of them, however, it was the other way. They had not left home and old associations and come to the distant land to fail. Although they had been disappointed they would accomplish that which they came to perform. Every inventor has to face the difficulties of rising from an incredulous world. Every discoverer has to encounter difficulties which would make those who are less determined to desist. Every person who embarked

upon an undertaking which has as its object the upbuilding of truth has to run the gauntlet, so to speak, of the furious opposition, such as the powers of darkness only can command. It was no idle sentiment which prompted them to action but an inborn determination founded upon the principle that "whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well." Whenever such a spirit animates man we know "there is no such word as fail" in his vocabulary. The horrors of cold winters and starvation were not sufficient to cause him to desist in what many of his contemporaries no doubt considered a mad venture for he made up his mind to succeed and saw no such probability as defeat in his pathway. Do you think they anticipated failure when they gave their hearts to the work? Not only are we convinced of the contrary, but it is our firm conviction that if such had been the case the downfall of most of them would now be among the many wrecks which strew the sands of time. Looking therefore at our French colonists, we see them in a light of true grandeur of character as we have never viewed them before. The early history of our country is ever presenting scenes such as these, and often are we constrained to go back through the past years and sympathize with our forefathers and consider our lives as compared to theirs. We love the memory of our early settlers because they lived and died for this their home of adoption. In 1824 the town was honored by a visit from Gen. La Fayette, who observed the progress made by his faithful and patriotic countrymen and who had made America their home and country. The foundation laid by the French settlers was under such momentous circumstances, conditions and surroundings and such was the faithful and determined purpose of the settler that they founded their town. Looking at the place to-day we see a prosperous and substantial city. True there are many in our great state which are much larger and regarded as far more important, but the basis upon which we stand as a town is a firm and solid one which shows that its beginning was marked by faithful efforts. Thus when the town looks back over her history and beholds what she was and might have been but for the brave and determined efforts of her faithful settlers there is a peculiar charm attached even to her hardships in as much that she knows that they were successfully faced. A debt of gratitude is due these French settlers for their works done a century ago, and may our memory be as sacred to those who shall stand upon this ground when the morning of another hundred years shall dawn upon Gallipolis.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BY JOHN A. HUTCHINSON.

BLANNERHASSETT AND HIS ISLAND.



THE story of Blennerhassett, as it is often told, inspires sympathy for gentle lives, whose current of happiness was turned into channels of bitterness and beggary by pursuing the glorious dreams of the deceitful Burr. A witness upon the trial of Aaron Burr, Dudley Woodbridge, remarked that "Blennerhassett had more other sense than common sense." This was the practical judgment of a practical acquaintance. A man of more experience and insight into the affairs of the world, would not have been led so long by the artful ex-vice president into the toils and troubles which overwhelmed at last.

Blennerhassett was the son of an eminent Irish family who could hand back their history and name to the earliest times in English annals. He was a native of Hampshire, England, educated at Westminster, and graduated with honor from Trinity college, Dublin; he became an apprentice to the law as the profession most likely to advance his political ambition and fortune. At the age of twenty-five he was called to the bar, with the degree of barrister at law. It is said he made a tour upon the continent soon after obtaining his degree, and was in Paris during the early scenes of disorder and revolution, which resulted in the death of the bourbon king and the eventual crowning of the Sicilian corporal.

Blennerhassett was not designed for "a hero in the strife," so he turned from the plodding labors of the law, the perversities of politics, and fixed upon a literary and philosophic career; a life of repose and domestic pleasure. What he might have been as a student of nature, what he might have been and discovered as a scientist, we have no means of judging. He fell into the toils of Burr too soon to leave any record of his studies or his talents in these fields.

In 1796 Blennerhassett determined to make his home in America; converted his estates into British funds; wedded a beautiful woman of the Isle of Man, daughter of the governor, and on the 1st of August landed in New York. His letters to his relatives give a summary of his observations. They indicate

the fondness of the young adventurer for the things of nature, with now and then a common-place remark on the politics of the day. He made the trip in seventy-three days, traversing through calms and adverse winds, ten thousand miles, after leaving Gravesend till he reached the North river. When he arrived in this country he found political excitement pervading the pending presidential canvass, between the supporters of Washington's administration and the newly imported politics of Jefferson, who was inculcating the ideas springing out of the revolution in France.

John Adams was the representative of the friends of Washington. In a letter addressed to his nephew, De Courcey, August 18th, 1796, Blennerhassett said: "I have had an opportunity of witnessing the attachment of both parties to the real interests of the country, though they reciprocally launch the imputations of aristocracy and democracy against each other; and the candor on the one side in allowing Jefferson superiority in talents, is equalled by the honesty on the other, in admitting that Adams has done more for America than his opponent." He adds his opinion that the administration, if not the election, of the new president, will operate "as a test of the constitution, to confound or confirm the idea in Europe that Mr. Washington is, alone in America, the preserving cement of order and good government." Therefore, before he settled down he intended to await the crisis as the better part of prudence. The whole of this letter, as given in Safford's "Papers," is a sort of negative of the character which, in the sunlight of prosperity, Blennerhassett, in his few years of delightful life on his island home, so happily developed.

John Adams was elected in 1796 to succeed Washington, by two votes over Jefferson; so, Blennerhassett, feeling secure, led by the glowing reports of the valley of the Ohio, of its rivers, islands, soil and scenery, in the coaches of the day, transported himself and wife, and such goods as he might stand in common need, to the village of Pittsburg, at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela. The mode of river transportation at that time was both primitive and perilous. Upon a keel-boat he secured passage, and with the current of the Ohio floated between shores, then clad in the richest magnificence of autumnal glory; gliding by islands fringed with tangled forests, to the town of Marietta, at the mouth of the Muskingum. Landing at this point, giving evidence of culture and refined social qualities, Blennerhassett and his wife were received by the sturdy and intelligent New Englanders of that settlement, with great hospitality, and passed the winter of 1796-7 in pleasant visitations, and making observations for locating a home in the beautiful region. But the spot that most enchanted his romantic eye, was

the island in mid-stream of the Ohio, two miles below the mouth of the Little Kanawha, and what is now Parkersburg, where the early settlers were gathering a village.

This island had been included in one of the general surveys made by Gen. Washington himself, in connection with the rich bottom lands on the eastern and southern shore of the Ohio, that he had taken up from the Little Kanawha to the Big Sandy, 200,000 acres, dedicated in 1769, to Washington and other soldiers, who had taken part in the French and Indian wars of 1754 and 1765. Thirteen of these surveys were made and returned in 1772.

In 1786 a grant of this island was made by Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, to Alexander Nelson, of Richmond, Va. Nelson conveyed it to James Herron, who, in 1797, transferred it to Elijah Backus, of Connecticut, who was a member of the Ohio company. In March, 1797, Blennerhassett purchased from Mr. Backus 170 acres, the upper part, on head of the island, for \$4,500. At this time there was a large old block-house, that had been erected by Capt. James, and used as a retreat during the Indian wars. Into this Blennerhassett moved his wife and child soon after he became the owner. If the island is attractive and delightful, as it seems almost to move against the current of the Ohio, "like a thing of life," what must it have been a hundred years ago, to one "who in the love of nature held communion with her visible forms," in the spring-time of life and civilization in that region? Upon its sloping banks waved the willow, and laved its foliage in the murmuring stream. The majestic forest trees reared their sturdy forms, as monarchs of the isle; while the brier and woodbine, reaching and blending in graceful profusion, clasped their tiny hands, and encircled the protecting wildwood, like a band of fairies. Flowers of rare beauty grew spontaneously from the soil, and threw their fragrant kisses to the passing breeze. Birds warbled in the secluded grove; the red-deer cropped the rich blue-grass, and the squirrel rocked himself to sleep in his beechen hammock over the musical waters.

Blennerhassett determined to adorn the prospect with an expensive mansion. In a letter to his friend Devereux, he says: "The house and offices I occupy, stand me in upwards of \$30,000, not mentioning gardens and shrubbery, in the English style, hedges, post fences, and complete farm yards, containing barns, stables, overseers and negro houses." The main building was located near the upper end in the center of the island, upon a knoll gradually rising on every side from the river, and with the front facing up stream. It was fifty-two feet in length, thirty feet in width, and two stories high. Porticos forty feet in length, stretched out in the form of wings from either side and beyond

the front in a semi-circle. The building was of wood, the better, Blennerhassett said, to withstand the shock of earthquakes and storms. It was painted white and trimmed with green. The wide space in front, extending down toward the sycamores and maples, which crowned the head of the island, was devoted to the art of the landscape gardener. Here gravel walks, carriage drives, cut stone gate-ways, hawthorn hedges, rustic arbors, grass plats, flower borders, with foreign shrubs and remarkable plants, met the sight. In the rear of the mansion, and to the west was the vegetable garden; and then succeeded the fruit fields and orchards of peach, apple, pear and apricots of all the known varieties.

To appreciate the wonderful situation, and the effect of so enchanting a scene, one must picture to himself, that on the southern shore the bluffs were crowned to the very top with an unbroken forest; that on the northern shore, the veterans of the revolution from New England were just settling, and opening out the forests of Belpre; that to the east the Little Kanawha was still shaded to the brink with its lofty maples, elms and sycamores; that Parkersburg was not yet a village, but a few settlers had built their cabins on the delta, and Prospect hill in the back ground, was yet the haunt of the bear and deer and wild turkey.

When the traveler, floating on the bosom of the river, turned the prow of his boat to the west from the Kanawha, as the white winged edifice rose to view in the distance, the effect was magical. There was a spell of enchantment around it. Such art, taste and magnificence were foreign to the surrounding primeval situation. An English traveler in 1806, descending the Ohio in the customary keel-boat, stopped at Marietta, and Blennerhassett and his wife desired a passage to their island home. This request was granted and the writer says: "I had only to lament that the voyage was so short, which was to terminate my acquaintance with persons so truly interesting and amiable. The island hove in sight to great advantage from the middle of the river, from which point of view, little more appeared than the simple decorations of nature, trees, shrubs and flowers of every perfume and kind. The next point of view, on running with the current on the right hand side, varied a scene of enchantment; a lawn in the form of a fan inverted presented itself, the nut forming the centre and summit of the island, and the broad segment the borders of the water. The lawn contained one hundred acres of the best pasture, interspersed with flowering shrubs and clumps of trees, in a manner that conveyed a strong conviction of the taste and judgment of the proprietor. The house came into view at the instant I was signifying a wish that such a lawn had a mansion. It stands on the intermediate summit of the island, whose ascent is very gradual, is snow white, two stories

high, and furnished with wings, which interlock the adjoining trees, confine the prospect, and intercept the sight of some stables and out-houses, which are so often suffered to destroy the effect of the noblest views of England." Our traveler proceeds to describe the hospitality of the happy possessors of this romantic home: "There is no resisting the friendly importunity of my passengers; no excuse would be taken; to stop at night at least was insisted upon, and with a convincing expression that the desire flowed from hearts desirous not to be refused. * * * It was tea-time; that refreshment was served and conducted with a propriety and elegance, which I never witnessed out of Britain.

"The conversation was chaste and general, and the manners of the lady and gentleman were refined without being rigid; distinguished without being ostentatious, and familiar without being vulgar or absurd. Before the entire decline of day, we walked in the gardens, which were elegantly laid out in your country's style, produced remarkably fine vegetables, and had a very favorable show of standard peaches and other fruits. * * * Next morning I with difficulty tore myself away from this interesting family." (Letters of a traveler — 1805.)

Blennerhasset brought into this lovely wilderness, and transplanted for a short period, the appointments and regulations of domestic life which he had been familiar with in his English home—farmers, gardeners, butlers, experts in all the offices belonging to lordly halls and ducal estates. He became a slaveholder, purchasing ten slaves, to act as valets, hostlers, and rowers of his boats. The magnificence of the interior of his dwelling, was in keeping with the unsparing display of the external surroundings. Rich and elaborate frescoes adorned the ceilings, and plaster cornices and ornamentation, furnished the walls. Paintings and pictures by noted artists and of great value, graced the walls; some by the talented hand of Mrs. Blennerhasset herself. Paris and London furniture filled the apartments, and splendid mirrors, costly carpets, delicate laces, and embroidered draperies, handsomely set off the principal rooms. The side board shone with massive silver plate. It is said the main hall was wide, spacious and adapted to respond to the harmonies with which the lady of the mansion by voice and harpsichord, in the evening hour, often delighted her guests. Blennerhasset reserved liberal space for his laboratory and scientific apparatus. He had brought with him from London, the finest known instruments, with which to conduct experiments. He had a good knowledge of medicine and surgery.

Blennerhasset, after he had prepared the soil for culture, and secured the servants necessary for so extensive a villa, began the experiment of "farming for profit." He raised grain and

hemp. He entered into business connections with gentlemen at Marietta. But, evidently his profits were not large.

The county of Wood was organized in 1799-1800, and the records of the early county courts there indicate that he was annoyed by small litigations with his farmers and tenants. It appears that he was prevented or delayed in his suits, on the plea of alienage. The old log court house of Wood county stood near where now is the imposing passenger depot of the Ohio River railroad, in Parkersburg. But after he had become a citizen he was recommended by the county court to the governor of Virginia, for appointment as a county magistrate and was commissioned as such, but he declined to assume the office.

Blennerhassett was studious. His mind had a certain intellectual energy, but seemed to be without force. He enjoyed scientific investigations, and experimented in chemistry, electricity, microscopy; he was fond of music, and played several instruments, and it is said, composed musical pieces; he was well read in the classics, and was familiar with the *Iliad* in the original Greek. He had thoroughly studied English law, but had never practiced it. His mind was stored with the best of English literature, and his conversational powers made him a popular host and an entertaining companion. In person he was about six feet in height, of slender build, with slight stooping shoulders; he had high cheek bones, large blue eyes, well formed forehead, his whole appearance indicating amiability and generous sentiments; he appeared to be, as he was, better fitted for literary pursuits than professional labor, and was easily made the victim of artful schemers.

His wife is said to have been one of the most remarkable women of her time, and one of the historians declares, that, "history affords but few instances where so much feminine beauty, physical endurance and many social virtues were combined in one female." Her figure was of a commanding height, beautifully proportioned, lithe and agile; but she had not only beauty of person, but her mind was trained to the highest degree; on her education every attention had been bestowed; she spoke and wrote with fluency several languages beside her own. She was deeply versed in history and English literature; was an ardent Shakesperian scholar and skillful in elocution. Those capable of judging declared that her recitations were equal to the best of artists. She was a skillful musician, and danced with the grace and lightness of a fairy. Her taste for poetry was finely cultivated, and she wrote verses which are still extant and are worthy of preservation. One of her poems, written at the time the cup of her woes was filled to overflowing, is entitled, "The Deserted Isle," and is presented here as an evidence of her powers to a mournful cause of a broken heart:

"THE DESERTED ISLE."

- "Like mournful echo from the silent tomb,
That pines away upon the midnight air,
Whilst the pale moon breaks out with fitful gloom,
Fond memory, turns with sad, but welcome care,
To scenes of desolation and despair,
Once bright with all that beauty could bestow,
That peace could shed, or youthful fancy know.
- "To the fair isle reverts the pleasing dream;
Again thou risest, in thy green attire;
Fresh, as at first, thy blooming graces seem;
Thy groves, thy fields, their wonted sweets respire;
Again thou 'rt all my heart could e'er desire,
Oh, why dear isle, art thou not still my own?
Thy charms could then for all my grief atone.
- "The stranger that descends Ohio's stream,
Charmed with the beauteous prospects that arise,
Marks the soft isles that 'neath the glittering beam,
Dance with the wave and mingle with the skies,
Sees, also, one that now in ruin lies,
Which erst, like fairy queen, towered o'er the rest,
In every native charm, by culture dress'd.
- "There rose the seat, where once, in pride of life,
My eye could mark the queenly river's flow,
In summer's calmness, or in winter's strife,
Swollen with rains, or battling with the snow.
Never again, my heart such joy shall know.
Havoc and ruin, rampant war have pass'd
Over that isle with their destroying blast.
- "The black'ning fires have swept throughout her halls,
The winds fly whistling o'er them, and the wave
No more in spring-floods o'er the sand beach crawls,
But furious drowns in one o'erwhelming grave
The hallowed haunts it watered as a slave,
Drive on, destructive flood, and ne'er again
On that devoted isle let man remain.
- "Too many blissful moments there I've known,
Too many hopes have there met their decay,
Too many feelings now forever gone,
To wish that thou couldst e'er again display,
The joyful coloring of thy prime array.
Buried with thee, let them remain a blot,
With thee their sweets, their bitterness forgot.
- "And, O, that I could wholly wipe away
The memory of the ills that worked thy fall;
The memory of that all eventful day,
When I returned and found my own fair hall
Held by the infuriated populace in thrall —
My own fireside blockaded by a band
That once found food and shelter of my hand.
- "My children (Oh, a mother's pangs forbear;
Nor strike again the arrow to my soul;)
Clasping the ruffians in suppliant prayer,
To free their mother from unjust control,
While with false crimes and imprecations foul,
The wretched, vilest refuse of the earth
Mock jurisdiction held around my hearth.

"Sweet isle, me thinks I see thy bosom torn;
Again behold the ruthless rabble throng,
That wrought destruction taste must ever mourn,
Alas! I see thee now — shall see long;
But ne'er shall bitter feelings urge the wrong,
That to a mob would give the censure, due
To those that armed the plunder-greedy crew.

"Thy shores are warmed by beauteous suns in vain,
Columbia, if spite and envy spring
To blot the beauty of mild nature's reign.
The European stranger, who would fling
O'er tangled woods refinement's polishing,
May find expended every plan of taste,
His work by ruffians rendered doubly waste."

Mrs. Blennerhassett not only possessed these talents and accomplishments, but her constitution was equal to active outdoor exercise, in which she delighted. It is said she often made visits afoot of many miles around the neighborhood with as much ease as other ladies would make a few village calls. She rode a very high spirited horse, making the ride from the island to Marietta, a distance of fourteen miles, frequently in two hours. But she was also skilled as a house-wife, and capable of doing all the work of cutting out and sewing with her own hands the apparel of her family. She directed every detail in the affairs of her home. She was peculiarly industrious and so arranged her time that her amusements and exercises did not clash. She had more strength of mind and character than her amiable and easily beguiled husband, and had he more of her clearness of perception and strength of spirit, the calamities which overtook them through the wiles of Burr might have been avoided.

For eight years, from 1797 to 1805, the island home of Blennerhassett was a scene of romantic and domestic joy that the most favored mortals might have envied. "The flowers and plants trained by his hands had now sprung up in luxuriant perfection, and regaled the senses with their grateful fragrances. The products of his husbandry secured at least a comfortable supply of all the necessaries of life, and more than this he wished not. Around him he viewed a contented family, rejoicing in the bouyancy of health, and with the vivacity of youth. Returning seasons brought returning pleasures. New scenes of interest, new engagements, and wider fields of usefulness, daily presented themselves to his awakening impulses, but in the midst of all this peace and contentment, this 'constant sunshine of the soul' — a dark cloud soon rose up destined to break with fury on the deceived and betrayed household."

Aaron Burr was to be the author of other crimes and sorrows. All the misfortunes that followed and ended in the ruin of Blennerhassett may well be attributed to the soulless, selfish schemes of Burr. His unscrupulous nature was a distinguishing

feature in his life from early boyhood to his latest day. Coloring or gilding cannot change his character of deception and duplicity. It is true he had been a soldier in the Revolutionary war. He was brave, but not courageous; he was learned, but not wise; he was polished, but not true; he was celebrated, but not great. He had been an aide to Benedict Arnold in his expedition to Canada, and imbibed much of his spirit. He was on Washington's staff, yet a pert, prim, prater; jealous and treacherous, ready to destroy confidence in the great commander-in-chief. "He was," as Randall says, "a conspicuous Cassius in the cabals plotted by jealous generals against Washington." He was the prototype of the lowest grade of New York politicians; ready to overthrow Washington, murder Hamilton, disgrace Jefferson, and destroy the Union to satiate his unholy ambition. A public man of his day wrote: "As to Burr, there is no disagreement as to his character. He is ambitious, selfish, profligate. His ambition is of the worst kind; it is a mere love of power, regardless of fame, but as its instrument; his selfishness excludes all social affections, and his profligacy, unrestrained by any moral sentiment, and defying all decency." Another writer says: "In him all the elements which make great and good men, were strangely mixed up with those of which we may suppose the spirits of evil to pride themselves. * * * Subtle, intriguing, full of promise, he shot upward in popularity with astonishing velocity; but a skeptic in honesty, a scorner of all things noble and good, he failed to secure public confidence, and fell headlong from his dizzy eminence. Here lies the secret of his ruin. There was nothing in his character to which the great heart of the people could attach itself in love; but they shrank from him in mistrust as from a cold and glittering serpent. The public rarely errs in an estimate like this."

An English poet of the eighteenth century had Burr in view when he wrote these words:

"With that smooth falsehood, whose appearance charms,
And reason of each wholesome doubt disarms,
Which to the lowest depths of guile descends,
By vilest means, pursues the vilest ends;
Wears friendship's mask for purposes of spite,
Fawns in the day and butchers in the night
With that malignant envy which turns pale,
And sickens, even if a friend prevail;
Which merit and success pursues with hate,
And damns the worth it cannot imitate;
With the cold caution of a coward's spleen,
Which fears not guilt, but always seeks a screen,
Which keeps this maxim ever in his view,
What's basely done, should be done safely too;
With that dull, rooted, callous impudence,
Which, dead to shame and ev'ry nicer sense,
Ne'er blushed, unless, in spreading vice's snares
He blundered on some virtue unawares."

Suspected and separated from the republican party by reason of his effort to defeat Jefferson for the presidency, and despised and hated by the federalists in consequence of the duel in which he killed Hamilton, Burr, in the maturity of his talents, found himself cut off from the very source of political honors. He made up his mind that treason was preferable to a condition of political failure. Ostracized in his own country, he naturally sought other fields in which to display his infinite resources of selfish aggrandizement. In this state of affairs he conceived his famous scheme for seating himself upon the Mexican throne and annexing to it all the territory west of the Alleghenies.

Mr. Randall thus described Burr's project: He would cross the Alleghenies, descend the Ohio, and in its valley rally the malcontents, the chivalrous, the adventurous, enlist the troops, organize a force, proceed down the Mississippi, occupy New Orleans, arouse the insurrectionary host of Louisiana, cross into Mexico and, aided by the rebellious natives, drive out the Spanish ruler, enter the city of Mexico, declare himself Emperor of the independent kingdom, and seat himself upon the throne of the Montezumas. Then, swift as the eagles of the Roman legions, his untamed fancy sped on; he would annex the country of the Ohio and Mississippi, and then, like another Cromwell or Napoleon, march to the capital of the United States, into the halls of congress, overthrow the American republic, which had so ungratefully spurned him, and install himself as the central head of a great and glorious empire extending from the lakes to the gulf, from the Atlantic to the Rocky mountains. The most erratic romance could reach no farther. It recalled the realizations of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Burr's own contemporary, Bonaparte."

At the time referred to, in the spring of 1805, and at the close of his term as vice-president, the war threatened with Spain encouraged Burr to proceed westward to reconnoiter the field of his proposed treasonable practices. At that time it was well understood that Mexico was aroused to the point of throwing off the yoke of Spain; that the priest-hood were very generally disaffected, and ready to lend their aid in severing their allegiance to the mother country; provided their privileges were asserted and made secure. It was supposed that Jefferson was favorable to the support of the fermenting Mexican revolution.

In the spring of 1805, Burr glided down the Ohio, landing at the island, near nightfall; Blennerhassett was absent, but his hospitable wife, for a few hours, entertained the ex-vice president and his companions of the voyage, with that hospitality for which she was ever noted. She felt that her husband had been highly honored by this mark of respect, from so eminent a citizen of the republic.

On his return Blennerhassett grasped the tempting opportunity to address Burr a letter, which led to a correspondence that placed Blennerhassett in the control of Burr. What more could Burr desire to open the way to the confidence of Blennerhassett? But it was the second visit of Burr, in the fall of 1806, that secured the co-operation of Blennerhassett, in the scheme that led to such disasters as ensued in the lives of both. Burr's first acquaintance with Blennerhassett was at a time when the latter was beginning to feel the burdensome effect of his expensive estate.

As Burr floated down the river he, no doubt, learned more of the character and circumstances of the family, his evil genius was about to destroy. The fame of the luxurious mansion, the refined and hospitable household, had reached every growing settlement in the valley. Travelers from the east to New Orleans, had borne testimony to the wondrous anomaly of wealth, culture and beauty reposing in the seclusion of the wilderness.

Here, thought the artful conspirator, is "a gentleman of opulence and ease," of superior scientific attainments, who would prove a powerful aid in any measure he might engage. Coming with all the prestige of an ex-vice president of the United States, Burr adapted his conversation and proposals, judiciously, to the temper of his hosts.

"His tongue dropped manna," and taking up the line thrown out to him in the letters of Blennerhassett, he insinuated that the life of isolation, the hiding of such resplendent talents, in the backwoods, were not the uses to be made of such gifts of nature and of fortune. He fed ambition with his plan of acquiring a vast tract of territory on the Mexican border, and created the belief in the Blennerhassetts that he was representing merely the views and purposes of the administration. He pointed out how it was desirable to have an American colony of immense proportions, supported by the government of the union, on the Spanish border, as a sort of army of reconnoissance.

Blennerhassett, in his "brief," prepared while in the Richmond penitentiary, declares that Burr was reserved and concise, "and from his entire confidence in the honor and judgment of the ex-vice president, he forebore to urge particular inquiries." But we may be sure that the seductive tongue of the wily plotter omitted nothing to engage the ingenuous hearts of the flattered islanders.

Burr's son-in-law, Gov. Alston, and his daughter, Theodosia, a woman of great genius and beauty, were filled with the visionary glory of the conquest of Mexico, and the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, which Burr promised to secure. "With Theodosia, who was to be the queen of the empire, Burr had an advocate, if any were needed, competent to capture the Blenner-

hassetts. Both women were sympathetic souls, and both dreamed of honors, titles, and a long line of kings, by whom their names would be handed down when the republic of Washington was forgotten. It is stated that, so far had the plan progressed that Blennerhassett had been selected as minister to England from Burr's empire; and thus Mrs. Blennerhasset already glowed with delight as she strode the marble halls of the court of St. James, as the wife of the royal minister from Mexico. The wild dream called forth the sincerest enthusiasm of this queenly women. "'Tis ever thus." She listened to the chivalrous story of the base troubadour. "This to hear * * * would seriously incline * * *, and with a greedy ear, devour up discourse." The beguiling visions of wealth and patents of nobility courted the Blennerhassetts into the conspiracy.

As stated, Governor Alston was engaged, according to the proof left by Blennerhassett, as deeply in the plot as Burr. Bankrupt in everything, except duplicity, Burr induced Blennerhassett to raise \$8,000 or \$10,000 in the beginning of the operations. To indemnify him, the governor gave Blennerhassett his personal guaranty against loss, of such funds as he might furnish. But, in the sequel, Alston and Burr disputed the guaranty. Blennerhassett was to provide the boats, provisions and equipments. Burr recruited the men. A flotilla of fifteen large boats was contracted for at Marietta, capable of carrying 500 men. One of these boats was built much larger than the others, and fitted up with more regard to elegance and comfort. It had an ample cabin, tastefully decorated with a fire place and glass windows. This was to be the floating palace of Blennerhassett and his family. A provision boat of immense proportions was also fitted out. Other boats at points below the island were engaged. Blennerhassett turned his attention entirely to the business of equipping this fleet. The island, lately so peaceful and tranquil, suddenly became a noisy mart of commissary stores; a camp for fillibustering recruits. Mrs. Blennerhassett and Theodosia Burr-Alston, with great spirit and gaiety, cheered on the warlike work. Blennerhassett himself seemed to have received a new spirit. He was fired with a strange zeal. He freely converted his money and credit into stores for the expedition. His funds exhausted, he borrowed largely, and gave bills regardless of all methods of business, relying implicitly on his faith in Burr.

Burr himself was restlessly active. He sought favor and support in Virginia, Ohio, Tennessee and Indiana. He kept his real object concealed from the public. Land speculation was the pretext. If war was declared with Mexico, then some fighting might have to be done. The young and hardy recruits understood that they were engaging in an expedition where glory and fortune were to be secured. Each was to supply his own

outfit and arms, and was to receive one hundred acres of land. Col. Phelps thought that many young men of Wood county would be glad to go with the adventurers. Sons of Virginia and Ohio, whose fathers were veterans of the revolution, were carried away by the vision.

But while all was apparently serene on the banks of the Ohio, the movements of Burr had not escaped the notice of the friends of the Union and the administration. Burr had had such correspondence with General Wilkinson, commander of the government forces at the mouth of the Ohio, that he felt satisfied that the general would join his command to the Mexican expedition. Whether Burr was mistaken or not, he had, on the 29th of July, 1806, dispatched to Wilkinson a letter in cypher which is probably correctly translated in Safford's "Blennerhassett's Papers, ch. VIII." Whatever Wilkinson's connection may have been with Burr's schemes, he gave information to the president in October of the designs of Burr.

A proclamation by the president, in November, warning all persons against unlawful enterprises in the western states, and commanding all officers, civil and military, to use their exertions to bring the offending parties to punishment, lit the torches that set all the watch towers of patriotism in the land ablaze. The militia of Ohio and the bordering counties of Virginia were called out. The preparations for grim-visaged war were heard on every hand. Blennerhassett, surrounded by so many difficulties, and observing public sentiment to be excited against Burr, became much disheartened, and felt like giving up the enterprise. But his wife showed her courage in this hour of despair. To quote the words of Safford:

"An inspired enthusiasm had seized upon her, and urged her forward to wonderful effort. She seemed indeed the ruling spirit of the occasion. As her sylph-like form glided gracefully through the various apartments, from kitchen to hall and from parlor to chamber, tarrying a moment to direct a servant, or deliver a message from her husband, many paused from their occupations to catch a glimpse of the heroine of the expedition, and stood in wrapt admiration of her grace and energy. With her, the die had been cast, and on it depended her happiness or her ruin. To retreat, even if retreat were possible, involved the loss of property, of social relation, and, above all, her own proud self-respect which never yet had yielded to the temptations of fortune or the meledictions of envy. "Onward, onward" she urged to the hesitating and doubting husband. "To the plateaux of the sunny south; to the land of perennial verdure, where grow the citron and the olive, the orange and the pine-apple; to the land of gold; to the imperial city, the gay, the *elite*, the dazzling empire of the new world." * * * "Go," she urged,

"before the minions of the government are upon you. Wait not for me and the children; they dare not molest the mother and her innocents. We shall follow at a more opportune season, and meet again beyond the powers which pursue."

On the 13th of December, Blennerhassett, learning that Col. Phelps had mustered the militia of Wood county in order to take possession of the island and arrest himself and family, he determined to escape with such of his followers as he could command, and endeavored to join Burr at the mouth of the Cumberland. He bade farewell to his wife and home at midnight, amid a blinding snowstorm, leaving his wife and two little boys to follow. The Wood county militia failed to intercept him. The next day at daybreak Mrs. Blennerhassett, in the bleakness of the wind and snow, rode with speed to Marietta, to procure the boat intended for the use of her family; but she found the Ohio militia had captured all the boats at that point. She returned melancholy but defiant, finding the Virginia soldiers in possession of the island, running riot, tramping the shrubbery, burning the fences for their camp-fires and ransacking the house. They made barracks of the elegant apartments, sacked the cellars, filled themselves with the wines and liquors, riddled the walls and ceilings with bullets, and this radiant home was ruined by the drunken mob, which Col. Phelps was unable to restrain. On that day a band of ten New York recruits for Burr's expedition arrived at the island. They were arrested by Col. Phelps and tried by three Wood county justices, who discharged them for lack of evidence. They chivalrously offered Mrs. Blennerhassett passage in their boat, which she accepted, and storing in it such choice articles, books and treasures, as could be carried away, the fragments of a blighted home, on a cold, dark December day, the heroic, devoted, but desolate wife, with her infant sons, forever bade adieu to home and happiness, and the little boat began its voyage slowly down the ice-filled river. She reached her husband January 15, at Bayou Pierre.

It is impossible to follow in this paper the course of Burr and Blennerhassett through all the scenes and incidents that overtook them to the time of their arrest and imprisonment in the Richmond penitentiary. The story has been told by other pens. Blennerhassett left his family at Natchez. Burr had endeavored to escape to the Atlantic coast, to reach some friendly soil that might waft him to Europe. His followers, the bright vision of glory dispelled, were dispersed as fugitives. Blennerhassett, ruined, but not without hope of retrieving his once peaceful island home, set out to return. At Frankfort, in July, 1807, he was arrested for treason, upon the indictments which had been found at Richmond, Va., against him and Burr. Before Mrs. Blennerhassett had learned of her husband having been sent to

Richmond, she addressed him a letter, dated August, 1807, in which she says: "I learned of your arrest, which affects me because it was an arrest. I think had you, of your own accord, gone to Richmond and solicited a trial it would have accorded better with your pride." And then she begs him not to let any disagreeable feelings "enervate his mind at this time;" and tells him not to torment himself about the loss of her picture; that she had sent him what was of infinitely more value, the "profiles of the two darling, lovely boys." Throughout Blennerhassett's letters and journals, during the period of his detention at Richmond, we may see the change coming over his former opinion of Burr, until at last he sees how great a dupe he had been by trusting in Burr's honor. Throughout his wife's many letters, there breathes a spirit of devotion, wisdom and courage, rare even in woman.

The scene changes from the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, from the intrigues and exploits in field and bivouac, to the halls of justice in Richmond. No more exciting criminal trial ever took place in this country. It was notable from the nature of the cause; from the character of the judge who presided; from the reputation of the principal defendant, and distinguished for the many historic public men engaged in it. Upon the bench sat John Marshall, chief justice of the supreme court of the United States, and Cyrus Griffin, judge of the district court of Virginia. The chief justice was a tall, slender man, with a majestic head, without one gray hair, with eyes the finest ever seen, large, black, brilliant beyond description. He was the soul of dignity and honor, courageous, and immovably just and righteous. His conduct of that trial evoked the highest praise mortal could receive. At the bar sat Aaron Burr.

"He seemed for dignity compos'd and high exploit;
But all was false and hollow."

The counsel employed were the ablest men of the bar of Virginia, with the powerful Luther Martin, from Maryland. The United States was represented by George Hay, a lawyer of first rate ability. He was assisted by William Wirt, then only thirty-five years of age, just rising into fame, already celebrated for his splendid declamation, and whose speech at this trial is one of the legal classics of the country.* He was handsome and brilliant. Alexander McRae, lieutenant governor of Virginia at the time, also appeared for the prosecution.

On the side of the prisoner were arrayed men who are celebrated in the annals of the country. Edmund Randolph, who had been Washington's attorney general, and governor of Vir-

*The part of this speech which refers to Blennerhassett is given at the close of this chapter on page 393.

ginia, careful and conservative; Wickham, the ablest lawyer of his time at the Richmond bar, commanding and convincing. Luther Martin, noted for his depth of legal learning, his wonderful memory, and capacity for drink. Benjamin Botts, bold, strong and clear.

But Burr, himself a professional giant, was leader of his array of counsel. In the midst of his counsellors, he sat, scrupulously attired in his black suit and powdered hair and queue, unruffled; cool, courageous, swift to detect any vulnerable point of his adversaries, and technical in every step. He assumed the role of a martyr. He writes to Theodosia to recall instances in ancient history, where the virtuous, the wise, the noble, were objects of persecution and driven the "hemlock way."

He fascinated the women, who regaled his prison life each day with confectionery and flowers, redolent with perfume wreathed in fancy bouquets of endless variety. Day after day he was followed to and from the state prison with a great concourse of sympathizing people. But Blennerhassett, with few friends, without money, with the most intolerable anxieties concerning his wife and children, with the tormenting reflections, that but ten years had elapsed since he opened the threshold of his island palace, and dedicated it to the love and joy of peace and philosophy, and now that home was no more, swept away with the dreams of Burr, sat alone in his prison chamber.

Burr was acquitted for want of legal proof of his guilt. Blennerhassett, discharged, followed Burr to Baltimore, where they were in danger of being mobbed. Here Blennerhassett requests Burr to re-imburse him in some way for the fortune he had sacrificed on Burr's account. Burr tore off his mask of friendship and answered the demand by exhibiting, says Blennerhassett, the manner of "a heartless swindler." In 1808 Burr left the United States. "Like a criminal, he fled from the country which had once delighted to honor him — from the city in whose counsels his voice had been potential, and of whose society he had been esteemed an ornament." Blennerhassett's cup of misery was not yet filled. He had seen his brightest hopes decay; but the one radiant oasis in the desert before him was the changeless love of woman. To her he turned like a stricken deer to its covert. Down the placid Ohio he returned at length to Natchez. Broken in his spirits, burdened with an accumulation of debts, he suffered to a degree beneath which other hearts might have quailed. Creditors pursued him with their exacting demands; his library and all the apparatus he had collected, with which to brighten his darker hours, all had been seized and sold without reference to value. The mansion which he had erected with so much taste and care had been dis-

mantled and the island itself transferred to a creditor for a term of years by legal process.

In his extremity he turned to Gov. Alston, stating "having long since despaired of all indemnity from Mr. Burr for my losses I count upon a partial reimbursement from you, upon grounds and motives which it is the object of this letter to bring to your recollection. Having mentioned Mr. Burr I wish you to observe that I shall never more consider a reference to his honor and good faith, in any other light than as a scandal to any man offering it who has not already sunk as low as himself." He then states his claim, and demands satisfaction. We know not with certainty the reponse of Alston. In the hope of retrieving his fortune, and of being able to satisfy the claims of his creditors, like an honest man, he settled upon a large cotton plantation in Mississippi. Here he and his wife remained for ten years, struggling with their fate; but the war of 1812, the failure of crops, and the constant pressure of the creditors of Burr, for whom Blennerhassett had endorsed for thousands of dollars, finally drove him to sell his plantation to satisfy these demands. He moved to New York; attempted to practice law without success; sought office in Canada, and met with refusal; went to Ireland in the hope of acquiring an estate left him by a relative; and finally died at the age of sixty-three in complete destitution on the Isle of Guernsey.

In the meantime, his wife, from whom misfortune and care had begun to chase away her former grace and beauty, by every exertion, devotedly and desperately strove to maintain her boys. She wrought with her hands, she wrote for the press, publishing a little volume of poems entitled, "The Widow of the Rock," and other poems, but the world was unfriendly. At this time she put in her journal: "Oh, I ask myself a thousand times, what I can have done to deserve my present forlorn condition." To her husband she wrote: "after the dreadful despondency I have endured, for a period longer than I could have conceived myself capable, so extreme has been my wretchedness, that I have conceived myself sinking into a state that promised a speedy termination of my sorrows." In 1842, in a dreary tenement house in the city of New York, wasted in body and broken hearted, she left the world, a blighted life; the brightest victim of Burr's conspiracy.

Extract from the speech of William Wirt at the trial of Aaron Burr:

"Who is Blennerhassett? A native of Ireland, a man of letters who fled from the storms of his own country to find quiet in ours. His history shows that war is not the natural element of his mind. If it had been, he never would have exchanged Ire-

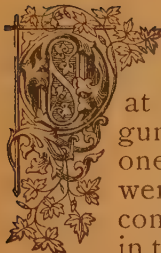
land for America. So far is an army from furnishing the society natural and proper to Mr. Blennerhassett's character, that on his arrival in America, he retired even from the population of the Atlantic states, and sought quiet and solitude in the bosom of our western forests. But he carried with him taste and science and wealth; and lo, the desert smiled! Possessing himself of a beautiful Island in the Ohio, he rears upon it a palace and decorates it with every romantic embellishment of fancy. A shrubbery that Shenstone might have envied blooms around him. Music that might have charmed Calypso and her nymphs is his. An extensive library spreads its treasures before him. A philosophical apparatus offers to him all the secrets and mysteries of nature. Peace, tranquility and innocence shed their mingled delights around him. And to crown the enchantment of the scene, a wife who is said to be lovely even beyond her sex, and graced with every accomplishment that can render it irresistible, had blessed him with her love, and made him the father of several children. The evidence would convince you that this is but a faint picture of the real life. In the midst of all this peace, this innocent simplicity and this tranquility, this feast of mind, this pure banquet of the heart, the destroyer comes; he comes to change this paradise into a hell. Yet the flowers do not wither at his approach. No momentary shuddering through the bosom of their unfortunate possessor warns him of the ruin that is coming upon him. A stranger presents himself. Introduced to their civilities by the high rank which he had lately held in his country he soon finds his way to their hearts by the dignity and elegance of his demeanor, the light and beauty of his conversation, and the seductive and fascinating power of his address. The conquest was not difficult. Innocence is ever simple and credulous. Conscious of no design itself, it suspects none in others. It wears no guard before its breast. Every door, and portal and avenue of the heart is thrown open, and all who choose enter it. Such was the state of Eden when the serpent entered its bowers. The prisoner, in a more engaging form, winding himself into the open and unpracticed heart of the unfortunate Blennerhassett, found but little difficulty in changing the native character of that heart and the objects of its affection. By degrees he infuses into it the poison of his own ambition. He breathes into it the fire of his own courage: a daring and desperate thirst for glory; and ardor panting for great enterprises, for all the storm and bustle and hurricane of life. In a short time the whole man is changed, and every object of his former delight is relinquished. No more he enjoys the tranquil scene; it has become flat and insipid to his taste. His books are abandoned. His retort and crucible are thrown aside. His shrubbery blooms and breathes its fra-

grance upon the air in vain; he likes it not. His ear no longer drinks the rich melody of music; it longs for the trumpet's clangor and the cannon's roar. Even the prattle of his babes, once so sweet, no longer affects him; and the angel smile of his wife, which hitherto touched his bosom with ecstasy so unspeakable, is now unseen and unfelt. Greater objects have taken possession of his soul. His imagination has been dazzled by visions of diadems, of stars, and garters, and titles of nobility. He has been taught to burn with restless emulation at the names of great heroes and conquerors. His enchanted island is destined soon to relapse into a wilderness; and in few months we find the beautiful and tender partner of his bosom, whom he lately "permitted not the winds of" summer "to visit too roughly," we find her shivering at midnight, on the wintry banks of the Ohio, and mingling her tears with the torrents that froze as they fell. Yet this unfortunate man, thus deluded from his interest and his happiness, thus seduced from the paths of innocence and peace, thus confounded in the toils that were deliberately spread for him, and overwhelmed by the mastering spirit and genius of another—this man, thus ruined and undone, and made to play a subordinate part in this grand drama of guilt and treason, this man is to be called the principal offender, while he, by whom he was thus plunged in misery, is comparatively innocent, a mere accessory! Is this reason? Is it law? Is it humanity? Sir, neither the human heart nor the human understanding will hear a perversion so monstrous and absurd! so shocking to the soul! so revolting to the reason! Let Aaron Burr, then, not shrink from the high destination which he has courted, and having already ruined Blennerhassett in fortune, character and happiness, forever, let him not attempt to finish the tragedy by thrusting that ill-fated man between himself and punishment."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BY PROF. N. J. MORRISON.

EARLY SETTLEMENT AT MARIETTA.



IN the seventh day of April, A. D. 1788, forty-seven men, descending the Ohio river in a barge, landed at the hour of "high noon" at the mouth of the Muskingum and began the foundations of a city, a state, and of one of the grand divisions of these United States. These were the vanguard of the Ohio company, to whom the continental congress had assigned a million acres of land in the northwest territory in payment of military services. The names of these pioneers who thus founded Marietta, the state of Ohio, and marked out the lines of the present civilization of the northwest, following the statement of Hildredth's Pioneer History, are as follows:

"Gen. Rufus Putnam, superintendent of the settlement and surveys." "Col. Ebenezer Sproat, Col. R. J. Meigs, Maj. Anselm Tupper and Mr. John Matthews, surveyors." "Maj. Haffield White, Capt. Josiah Munroe, Capt. Daniel Davis, Capt. Jethro Putnam, Capt. William Gray, Capt. Ezekiel Cooper, Peregrine Foster, Esq., Jarvis Cutler, Samuel Cushing, Oliver Dodge, Isaac Dodge, Samuel Felshaw, Hezekiah Flint, Hezekiah Flint, Jr., Amos Porter, Josiah Whitredge, John Gardner, Benjamin Griswold, Elizur Kirtland, Theophilus Leonard, Joseph Lincoln, William Miller, Jabez Barlow, Daniel Bushnell, Ebenezer Corey, Phinehas Coburn, Allen Putnam, David Wallace, Joseph Wells, Gilbert Devoll, Jr., Israel Danton, Jonas Davis, Earl Sproat, Josiah White, Allen Devoll, Henry Maxon, William Mason, William Moulton, Edmond Moulton, Simeon Martin, Benjamin Shaw, Peletiah White, amounting to forty-eight persons."

"N. B. Col. Meigs did not arrive till the 12th of April."

To these men, to others who with them had planned and shaped the enterprise from the first, and to others, as Manasseh Cutler, Benjamin Tupper, Samuel A. Parsons, Winthrop Sargent, Abraham Whipple, Arthur St. Clair, James M. Varnum, John May, Robert Oliver, Daniel Storey, the Gilmans, the Danas, Crary, Israel and Waldo Putnam, Woodbridge, Goodale, Pearle, Ichabod Nye, Battelle, Fearing, Stacey, Shipman, Breck, Lord, Backus, Shepherd, and their associates and families, who joined

the settlement a little later, no honors too great can be rendered by historian's pen, or poet's song, or sculptor's bronze.

Americans honor mere adventurous explorers, border hunters and accidental settlers in aboriginal wilds beyond the pale of civilization, like Boone, and Sevier, and Pike, and Kit Carson; and are wont to christen cities, counties, rivers and lofty mountains with their revered names. Of how superior honor these pioneer planters of civilization at Marietta are worthy will appear if we consider who they were, what they sought in their enterprise, what seed they planted in this virgin soil, and what harvest has sprung from their planting.

Governor Stoughton of Massachusetts wrote, in 1668, of the first settlers of New England, that "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness"; and Senator Hoar, commenting on these words in his Centennial oration at Marietta, April 7, 1888, adds, "the quality of the grain continued to improve under his care. Never did the great husbandman choose his seed more carefully than when he planted Ohio. I do not believe the same number of persons, fitted for the highest duties and responsibilities of war and peace, could ever have been in a community of the same size, as were among the men who founded Marietta in the spring of 1788, or joined them within twelve months thereafter." "Many of our associates," said General Varnum in an oration before the colonists on their first Fourth of July in Ohio, are distinguished for wealth, education and virtue"; "and others, for the most part, are reputable, industrious, well-informed planters, farmers, tradesmen and mechanics." "No colony in America," said Washington, "was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." "The best men in Connecticut and Massachusetts," writes Edward Carrington, a distinguished member of the continental congress from Virginia, of these men to James Monroe — "a description of men who will fix the character and politics throughout the whole territory, and *which will probably endure to the latest period of time.*"

"I know them all; I saw them at Brandywine, Yorktown and Rhode Island; they were the bravest of the brave!" exclaimed La Fayette, when the list of nearly fifty officers of the Revolutionary army among the pioneers at the Muskingum was shown to him on the occasion of his visit to Marietta in 1825. The great number of military titles appearing in the list of the pioneers, attests how largely the spirit of military comradeship entered into the plan of the enterprise. It was a military colony, though

unlike the ancient military colonies, its aims were altogether non-military and peaceful. The leaders had stood in the front rank among the heroes of the Revolution, and some of them close to the person of Washington. An unusual proportion were liberally educated, a greater number of college-bred men, it has been said, than Marietta has had among her permanent residents (excluding the officers of Marietta college) at any time since the days of the pioneers.

These men brought with them very distinct and complete plans of what they sought and intended to do. They came to make homes for themselves and their descendants. Before leaving the old home in Massachusetts, Putnam and Cutler had drawn a plat of their future city, on which the streets and public squares were located, with their proper direction, width, number and names, substantially as are the streets and public places of Marietta to-day.

Very early an appropriate name for the future city claimed attention. One proposed "Castrapolis," since its site included the ramparts of an ancient fortification. Others moved by the classical spirit, which later gave the name "Campus Martius" to the settlers' stockade and Tyber to the sometimes stream now known as "Goose Run," proposed "Tempe," or "Urania," or "Protopolis." But Dr. Manasseh Cutler advocated the name "Adelphi," writing thus under date of December 3, 1787, to Gen. Rufus Putnam:

"Saying so much about conveying letters reminds me of the necessity of a name for the place where you will reside. I doubt not you will early acquire the meaning of Muskingum; * or you may meet with some other name that will be agreeable. At present, I must confess, I feel a partiality for the name proposed at Boston, and think it preferable to any that has yet been mentioned. I think that "Adelphia" will, upon the whole be the most eligible. It strictly means brethren, and I wish it may ever be characteristic of the Ohio company."

Accordingly by this name, "Adelphi," the settlement was called, until the first meeting of the directors of the Ohio company, west of the Alleghenies, held at Gen. Putnam's marquee, July 2, 1788, when the name was changed by the following resolution:

"That the city near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum be called Marietta; that the directors write to his Excellency, the the Count Moustiers (then minister from the court of France to the United States), informing him of their motives in naming the city, and request his opinion whether it will be advisable to

* This Indian word is said to signify "Elk Eyes," significant of pellucid clearness of the waters of the river before being stained by the washings of the rich farms that now line its banks. In New England the colony was for some time chiefly known as "the Muskingum."

present to her Majesty of France (Queen Marie Antoinette) 'a public square.'

One writer suggests that the colonists sought to make Marie Antoinette the foster-mother of their city in the hope of some future gain from her patronage. But the more rational explanation is to be found in the lively sense of gratitude of the soldier founders for the noble, but unfortunate, queen, who had so generously aided the United States in securing independence and freedom. No response to their request was ever received, the speedily thickening troubles of Marie Antoinette blinding her to the application of her trans-Atlantic admirers. But the people of the place have always congratulated themselves on their good fortune in being called by a charming name, suggestive of attractive associations.

Landing thus at the point of land between the Ohio and Muskingum, opposite Fort Harmar, the little company of pioneers at once set themselves resolutely about the serious business of providing for their immediate necessities. Houses to shelter the people of the most primitive character were to be constructed from the poplar boards brought from Buffalo creek, or hewn from the trees standing on their lands. The soil must at once be cleared and got ready for planting, that they and the reinforcement of settlers immediately expected, might not be without bread in the autumn. The lands and city lots must be surveyed, that each settler may speedily enter into the possession of the allotments to which he was entitled.

Many fell to clearing away, or "deadening" the heavy forest, and at the end of six days from their arrival they had as many acres of soil at "the point" ready for planting.

On the second day after landing, Gen. Putnam set the corps of surveyors at their work, and by the middle of May he was able to write: "The *city* lots will be ready to draw by the first Wednesday in July, as proposed at the meeting in Providence, but the others (larger tracts) will not."

So successfully did the settlers apply themselves to clearing and planting that not less than 130 acres were growing corn the first season. The fresh, rich soil under the warm sun pushed forward the young corn plants with a vigor quite astonishing to the New Englanders. One letter written during the summer to the old home mentioned the fact that "the corn has grown nine inches in twenty hours for two or three days past." Dr. Cutler visiting this great cornfield in August, says: "It astonished me on account of its magnitude. I should as soon be lost in it on a cloudy day as in a cedar swamp." To these settlers from New England their new home presented the greatest attractiveness. The soil of the valleys was of exceeding fertility. The rivers

swarmed with excellent fish, some of them of great size. The forest was full of game. One of the pioneers writing home to New England, says: "We have started twenty buffaloes in a drove. Deer are as plenty as sheep with you. Beaver and otter are abundant. I have known one man to catch twenty or thirty of them in two or three nights. Turkeys are innumerable." The bold hills which bounded the valleys, covered with primeval forest, reminded them of their old home. A feeling of contentment prevailed. They felt that their lives had fallen in pleasant places. Good health prevailed. As late as July no men in the colony had been sick. This was certainly remarkable in a new country, and in a latitude so far south of their former homes.

On arrival at the Muskingum the pioneers were received by the Indians with an amicable welcome. But as they proceeded to strip away the forest and to capture the game and fish on which the Indians subsisted, the latter soon showed signs of jealousy and displeasure. They did not like that the colonists should build houses and raise crops before they had formed a treaty with them.

Late in June, Lieut. McDowel and a party of thirty men were sent by water from Ft. Harmar to the falls of the Muskingum, in preparation for a treaty, which Gov. St. Clair would form with the Indians on his arrival in the territory in July. Many Indians of the Delaware tribe assembled, and with them some outcasts from the Chippewa and other tribes. These desperadoes by night undertook to rob the stores which had been brought along from the settlement with which to trade with the Indians, fired on the sentries guarding the goods, killed two of them, and wounded others. In consequence of this unfortunate event the troops returned to the fort and the attempt to form a treaty for a time was abandoned.

Out of these tokens of hostility to the colony grew the effort undertaken in the fall to erect the famous "Campus Martius," a large, strong stockade, whose inclosure should furnish protection to the pioneers and their families, in case of the outbreak of an Indian war, a calamity to the settlement which came only too soon, and lasted through the weary months of five years, when most of the families found security within these "wooden walls." The stockade is said to have had a capacity, in an emergency, for nine hundred people.

In May and June of the first year successive companies of immigrants arrived, among whom was the first woman a Mrs. Owen, to arrive in the colony.

"The Fourth of July" for 1788, was celebrated by the pioneers with much ardor. Judge James M. Varnum was the orator. At the banquet following the oration, fourteen toasts were drank as follows:

"1. The United States. 2. The Congress. 3. His Most Christian Majesty (of France). 4. The United Netherlands. 5. The Friendly Powers Throughout the World. 6. The New Federal Constitution. 7. His Excellency General Washington, and the Society of the Cincinnati. 8. His Excellency Gov. St. Clair and the Northwest Territory. 9. The Memory of Those Who Have Nobly Fallen in Defense of American Freedom. 10. Patriots and Heroes. 11. Captain Pipe, Chief of the Delawares, and a Happy Treaty with the Natives. 12. Agriculture and Commerce, Arts and Sciences. 13. The Amiable Partners of our Delicate Pleasures. 14. The Glorious Fourth of July."

On the 9th day of July Gov. St. Clair arrived at the Muskingum, and on the 15th of the same month was formally inducted into office, and the government of the northwest territory was set up.

July 26th the governor created Washington county, the first county in the northwest. A little later the governor appointed magistrates, and instituted a court of quarter sessions. On September 2d, the judiciary of the territory was formally inaugurated with impressive ceremonies, a procession, an assembly in one of the block houses of Campus Martius, prayer by Dr. Manasseh Cutler, the reading of the commissions of the judges, and the sheriff's proclamation, that the machinery of justice in the community was now established and ready for appropriate business.

The first sermon in Marietta was preached by Rev. William Breck, a New England man, and a member of the Ohio company, on Sunday, July 20, 1788. Excluding the preaching of the Moravian missionaries to the Indians, and the services of French Catholic priests, this was the first sermon in the northwest. Dr. Cutler preached the second sermon, since published, one of much power and full of prophetic vision of the future of the colony, on Sunday, August 24th. He had arrived from the east on the nineteenth. He makes this entry in his journal: "Sunday, August 24. Cloudy this morning — very muddy. Attended worship in the public hall at Campus Martius. The hall was very full. I had but one exercise. People from the Virginia shore and garrison (Fort Harmar across the river) attended."

The first death in the colony occurred August 25th, a son of Major Cushing, thirteen years old. Dr. Cutler says in his journal: "About three o'clock at night I was called up to visit a child supposed to be dying. Just before I got into the house it expired — the first person that died in the city of Marietta."

The second death was that of the brilliant and beloved Gen. James M. Varnum, who succumbed to the disease, consumption, which had begun its inroads on his constitution before leaving Rhode Island, on the the 10th of January, 1789, eight months at-

ter his arrival in the colony. The funeral was attended by all the people, many from the Virginia shore, by the garrison and by many Indian chiefs. His death was felt to be a public calamity.

The first marriage, that of Hon. Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the territory, and Ravena, daughter of Gen. Benjamin Tupper, was solemnized by Gen. Rufus Putnam, as judge of the court of common pleas of Washington county, on the 6th day of February, 1789.

The first anniversary of the settlement of Marietta was celebrated April 7th, 1789. The Ohio company, at a meeting held in February, had resolved that the anniversary of the landing of the forty-seven pioneers should forever be considered as a day of public festival in the territory of the Ohio company. Dr. Solomon Drown was selected to deliver the commemorative oration.

Not until 1794, did Marietta have a postoffice and postmaster, when, on recommendation of Gen. Putnam, Return J. Meigs, Jr., received his commission from Washington, as president. He became twenty years later, postmaster-general of the United States.

The settlers of Marietta, accustomed to the authority of the New England "town meeting," soon had occasion to invoke its good offices in steadying society in their new homes. Their first "town meeting" convened February 4, 1789, Col. Crary in the chair, and Col. Battelle, acting as clerk. The meeting appointed a committee to address the governor and ask him to provide a "system of police," for their city. Some black sheep had been folded with the good, in particular, a liquor seller, whose trade tended to corrupt society, and who had added actual criminality to his other offenses against good order by selling a free black boy into slavery in Virginia, where this "peculiar institution" was lawful. Hence this "town meeting" and the resulting "system of police."

During the first year of the colony (1788), 133 men, accompanied by seventeen families, arrived.

In 1789, 152 men and fifty one families were added to the settlement. These were increased by thirty-one families and 200 men during the year 1790.

Near the close of 1788, representatives of the Six Nations of Indians, and also of the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Pottawattemies assembled near Fort Harmar, to form a treaty with Gov. St. Clair. On the 9th day of January, 1789, a treaty of peace and cession of lands was concluded—to be followed in a few months by the horrors of an Indian war.

In the spring of 1789, Rev. Daniel Storey, under engagement with the Ohio company, arrived to assume the religious care of the settlement. It was arranged that he should preach in Belpre and Waterford, as well as in Mariett. When the Indian war

began in 1791, Mr. Storey's visits to the two former places were necessarily intermitted till the close of the war in 1795, but he continued to preach to the Marietta people in the public hall of the Campus Martius.

In 1791 Mrs. Mary Lake, an English woman, employed in one of the block houses of the Campus Martius as a nurse of the sick, gathered a company of children about her on Sundays for religious and Bible instruction, and thus established the first Sunday-school northwest of the Ohio. The centennial of her pioneer labors in this field of usefulness has lately been widely celebrated.

Previous to December 6, 1796, there was no organized church in Marietta. On the 4th day of that month, at a public meeting to consider the propriety of organizing a church, Daniel Storey, Benjamin Miles and John Pratt, were appointed a committee to draft a plan of organization. On the next day they reported a confession of faith and covenant, which were unanimously adopted; and on the 6th day of the month "The First Congregational church of Marietta" was duly constituted, with a membership of thirty-two persons—seventeen women and fifteen men—of whom nine had been Revolutionary soldiers. The church included territorially the four towns, Vienna, in Virginia, Belpre, Waterford and Marietta.

This was the first Protestant church in the northwest territory, now, after an honorable history of ninety-five years, still vigorous and progressive. Its present house of worship was erected in 1807, and was then regarded as the finest church edifice in Ohio. It is still staunch, commodious and attractive. The founders of Marietta were friends and supporters of education to an unusual degree. The provision in the famous ordinance of 1787, that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged"—inserted, doubtless, at the instance of Dr. Manasseh Cutler—is sufficient evidence of this fact. The same testimony is borne by their re-affirmation of the provision of 1785, by which section sixteen in every township should be devoted to the support of schools, a provision that gave one-sixteenth of all the land of the northwest to promote education. And to the same purport is that further provision in the conveyance of land to the Ohio company, by which two entire townships were for the founding of a university.

Schools were opened in Marietta at as early a date as possible—the pioneer schools being located in the three *nuclei* of population, at "the point," Ft. Harmar and Campus Martius. The first in Campus Martins was held in the winter of 1788-89, and taught by Major Anselm Tupper, a Revolutionary officer, and

son of Gen. Benjamin Tupper. Later, Benjamin Slocumb, a graduate of Brown university, was the teacher. In April, 1797, at a public meeting of the citizens, Gen. Putnam, Paul Fearing, Griffin Greene, R. J. Meigs, Jr., Charles Green, and Joshua Shipman, were appointed a committee to devise a plan to organize an academy. Out of their report eventually sprang the Muskingum academy, which for many years efficiently served the cause of the higher education here. Through a succession of other schools Marietta college, that now is, may be considered the lineal educational descendant of the school, established by the self-sacrificing liberality of Gen. Putnam and his associates. The subscription list, with Gen. Putnam's name at the head with \$300, and a long list of noble pioneers following reminds one of another subscription forty years later which erected the college. Both are marvels of public spirit and broad liberality.

The founders of Marietta have received great praise from learned scholars, illustrious publicists and statesmen, and our most famous historians. And their virtues, and the supreme felicity of the work which Providence permitted them to do for mankind, have deserved it all, and more.

Putnam and Cutler, and their associates, absolutely fixed the civil institutions of the whole northwest, and so made sure the final triumph of freedom throughout the continent. They would not come to Ohio without the ordinance; the ordinance could not have become the fundamental law of the land, had not Manasseh Cutler, at the critical moment, stood at the doors of congress with an offer to take public lands, which the congress was eager to sell.



